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Volume IX.

NAGA HILLS AND MANIPUR

BY

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PREFACE.

The Gazetteer of the Naga Hills district should only be regarded as a supplement to the monographs on the various Naga tribes, which are now under preparation by Mr. A. W. Davis, C.S. Similarly, much interesting information, which might under other circumstances have suitably been incorporated in this work, will be published separately in various monographs on the Manipuris and the hill tribes subject to them, which are now engaging the attention of Mr. Hodson. It will be observed that there is no directory appended to this Gazetteer. Apart from the headquarters stations there are, however, no towns or places of sufficient size or importance to demand a separate description. I am indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, C.S.I., for his kindness in examining the Gazetteer of Manipur, and to Mr. Davis and Mr. Reid for criticising the Gazetteer of the Naga Hills.

SHILLONG: B. C. ALLEN.

29th May, 1905.

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CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Area and Boundaries—Mountain system—River system—Geology—Climate and Rainfall—Fauna.

THE district of the Naga Hills lies between 25°2′ and 26°47′ N. and 93°17′ and 94°52′ E. and covers an area of 3,647 square miles. On the north it is bounded by Sibsagar; on the west by Sibsagar, Nowgong, and the North Cachar Hills; on the south by the native state of Manipur; and on the east by mountain ranges inhabited by independent Naga tribes. **Area and boundaries**

The district consists of a narrow strip of hilly country, and has a maximum length as the crow flies of 188 miles, and an average breadth of about 25 miles. The Barail enters it at the south-west corner and runs in a north-easterly direction almost up to Kohima. As far as Berrima there are three main ranges of hills lying parallel to one another, the most northerly of the three being the largest and the most important, and containing several peaks over 6,000 feet in height. To one approaching the district from the **Mountain System.**

north, this range stands up like a great wall. For, though there are from ten to twelve miles of hilly country between its lower slopes and the flat valley of the Dhansiri, these outer hills are, for the most part, only from 1,500 to 2,000 feet in height. Near Kohima the Barail is merged in the mountain ranges which have been prolonged through Manipur from the Yoma of Arakan, and the main range assumes a much more northerly direction. This range is considerably higher than the Barail. Overhanging Mao Thana, on the southern frontier of the district, there is a mountain whose summit is 9,808 feet above the level of the sea, and a few miles further north stands Japvo (9,890 feet), the highest point in the British Province of Assam.* These are, however, only the highest points in a chain most of whose peaks between Mao Thana and Kohima are considerably more than 7,000 feet above sea level.

North of Kohima, the main range gradually declines in height. Merama peak is only 4,900 feet above the sea, and Nidzukru and Thevokeji a little above 5,700 feet, but Thebzothu or Wokha Hill is 6,600 feet in height. A little to the north of Wokha the range is pierced by the valley of the Doiang, which here makes a sudden bend and runs south-west to Lungkung. From Lungkung a chain of hills runs north-east till it is stopped by the Jhanzi, almost on the northern border of the district. This range is an unusually straight and level one, most of the hills being between 2,000 or 3,000 feet in

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* The Daphabum on the eastern frontier of Lakhimpur is 15,000 feet above mean sea level, but it lies outside the Inner Line.

height, but at Munching it rises to 4,284 feet. An outer range runs parallel to it on the west, which has a general height of between 1,500 or 2,500 feet, and a third range lies between the two northern sections of these chains of hills. The Japvo range throws out numerous spurs towards the east and west, and the same phenomenon is to be observed in the hills which traverse the Mokokchung subdivision north of the Doiang. The general north-eastern tendency is still discernible, but the country, as a whole, consists of a tumbled mass of hills, most of which are between three and four thousand feet in height.

General appearance of district

In their natural state these hills are covered with dense evergreen forest. Most of the easier slopes, up to a height of about 5,000 feet, have, however, at one time or another, been cleared for cultivation. Where this has been done they are covered for the most part with scrub, bamboo and grass, and the larger forest trees have disappeared. In the country inhabited by the Angamis the hill sides have been cut out into terraced rice fields and there is comparatively little jungle to be seen. Nowhere, in fact, is there much timber still remaining except in the bottom of the river valleys and on the summits of the hills. The slopes of Japvo are covered with primeval forest, huge trees tower into the air, and there is comparatively little undergrowth beneath their over-shadowing limbs. Near the summit, the forest is almost entirely composed of rhododendrons, whose trunks and boughs are buried in thick moss and lichen. The actual peak is a mass of tumbled rocks, which, towards the south, fall away in a sheer precipice

over a thousand feet in depth. Some of the higher hills near Japvo have steep grassy slopes, studded with rocks and boulders, and are almost entirely destitute of tree growth; a characteristic which is still more strongly marked in the portion of the range that lies beyond the frontier of Manipur. In the neighbourhood of Kohima the valleys are broad, the slopes of the hills are fairly easy, and have, to a great extent, been brought under cultivation, and the scenery is, for a hill district, unusually tame. The lower hills are not so healthy and are in consequence but sparsely peopled. The outer ranges on the north are for the most part covered with heavy jungle, and the intervening valleys afford a home for elephants and other varieties of big game.

River System. The Barail and the Japvo range of mountains form the watershed of the district, and, as they are seldom more than ten or fifteen miles from the western boundary, none of the rivers that come tumbling down their slopes have time to attain to any considerable dimensions before they enter Sibsagar or Nowgong. Almost as far north as Mokokchung, the whole of the drainage of the north-western face of the hills ultimately finds its way into the Dhansiri. The Dhansiri itself rises in the south-west corner of the Naga Hills, below the Laishiang peak, and flows a north-westerly course for about fifteen miles. It then turns at right angles to the north-east, and as far as Dimapur forms the northern boundary of the district. As it flows along a few miles from the outer range of hills it receives a large number of tributaries. But, with the exception of the Diphupani, they are all of them small and unimportant,

and even the Diphupani is barely thirty miles in length.

The next river worthy of mention is the Rengmapani which falls into the Doiang; but the Zubza, as the Rengmapani is called when flowing through the hills, is, after all, a very inconsiderable stream. The only river of any importance in the district is the Doiang. It rises near Mao-Thana and flows a north-north-easterly course for five and forty miles, when it suddenly turns to the north-west, and pierces the main chain of hills. After flowing for twelve miles in this direction it again turns at right angles and flows for twenty miles to the south-west. Here it turns sharp again to the north-west, and, shortly after emerging from the hills, it is joined by its largest tributary, the Rengmapani. The Doiang receives all the drainage of the main range between the Rengmapani and Wokha, while its tributary the Bagti, a stream about twenty-five miles in length, drains the valley between the inner and outer range of hills between Bhandari and Sonigao. The Doiang is only navigable for a few miles within the hills, as the channel is blocked with rocks at Nabha. If these were blasted, canoes could probably go as far as the Mokokchung Wokha road.

North of the Doiang, the principal streams are the Disai and the Jhanzi, which ultimately fall into the Brahmaputra, after flowing through the Sibsagar district. The northern frontier of the Naga Hills is marked by the Dikho, which is navigable for a short distance within the hills, though the head hunting proclivities of the tribes living on the further bank might render the voyage rather a risky undertaking. The principal river in

the territory which has recently been annexed is the Tizu, with its tributary the Lanier, which falls into the Chindwin. With the exception of the Doiang all of these rivers are mere mountain streams, which make their way towards the plains by fairly easy gradients. There are no waterfalls of any importance on any of these rivers, and there are no lakes or *jhils* within the boundaries of the district.

Geology. Generally speaking the Naga Hills are said to be composed of pretertiary rocks overlaid by tertiary strata. Oldham in 1883 described the hills, for about 20 miles north of Mao and east of Kohima, as axial, while to the west of Kohima lay a tract of tertiary country, with dun or gravel deposits immediately to the south and east of Nichuguard.* The hillsides are formed of a treacherous grey shale, which is very liable to slip after heavy rain, and which forms a stiff hard clay when cut out into the terraces on which rice is grown. There are deposits of limestone rock imbedded in the shale, ranging in colour from a light gray to a deep blue, which make an excellent building stone. A certain quantity of tufa lime has recently been discovered in the valley of the Sijju east of Kohima, and there are strings and nests of lignite in the hills near Nichuguard. Coal is also found in the hills through which the Disai debouches on the plains, and near the village of Anakey in the Mokokchung subdivision. But the most important coal fields in the Naga Hills lie outside the borders of the district, and have in consequence

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* Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XIX, Pt. 4.

been described in the Gazetteers of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur.

During the winter time the climate of the higher hills is cold and bracing. The days are generally bright and sunny, but frost at night is by no means uncommon. At the hottest season of the year the thermometer seldom rises above 80° Fahrenheit in a well-built bungalow at Kohima, but, as the air is surcharged with moisture, the climate is sometimes found a little enervating. The low ranges of hills that adjoin the plains are far from healthy, and Nagas who settle there suffer much from fever, and generally deteriorate in physique. The average rainfall at Kohima is only 76½ inches in the year. It is considerably lower than that recorded further east, Wokha returning over, and Mokokchung nearly, one hundred inches. Kohima is, however, sheltered to some extent by the high range of Japvo. Climate and Rainfall.

Nearly four-fifths of the total rainfall at Kohima is precipitated during the four months June to September, and the fall in April and May is unusually low for Assam. The monthly rainfall at Kohima, Wokha, and Mokokchung will be found in Table I. Strong winds blow from the north-west in February and March, but destructive gales or tornadoes are not common

There is very little game in the Angami country, but wild animals are still to be found in the hot unhealthy valleys, lying between the outer ranges of hills. The list includes elephants, bison (*bos gaurus*), buffalo, tigers, leopards, bears, the sambur (*cervus unicolor*, and the barking deer (*cervulus muntjac*). The serow is occasionally found on the higher mountains, and Fauna.

the flying lemur (*galeopithecus volans*) is sometimes met with in the woods. Game birds include wild fowl (*gallus ferrugineus*), partridges, pheasants, including the horned variety (*tragopan blythii*), and woodcock. The wood duck (*asarcorius sentutatus*) is also occasionally seen. Elephants are fairly common in the western part of the district, and in 1903-04, 18 animals were captured by a gentleman who had been allowed to hunt this tract. A small herd also makes its home in an elevated valley near the village of Khonoma. The scarcity of game is illustrated by the fact that in 1903 only one person was killed by a wild animal in the Naga Hills, and rewards were only paid for the destruction of 4 tigers, 14 leopards, and 1 bear.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

Summary—Captain Jenkin's March—Expeditions by Mr. Grange, Lieutenant Bigge and Captain Eld—Sixth and Seventh Expeditions—Lieutenant Vincent's Expedition—Tenth Expedition—Abandonment of the Policy of non-interference—Colonel Hopkinson's Policy—Lieutenant Gregory at Samaguting—Captain Butler's administration in 1876—Occupation of Kohima in 1878—Mr. Damant's murder in 1879—Seige of Kohima—Punitive measures in 1880—Pacification of district—Burning of Ratami—Punishment of Mozungzami—Burning of Yampong—Incorporation of the area of Political control.

Broadly speaking, the history of our relations with the Nagas many be divided into the following four periods—the period of control from without, by a system of expeditions or promenades; *the period of control from within; the period of absolute non-interference;* and the second *period of control from within, merging into gradual absorption into British territory.* It should first be premised that for the annexation of their territory the Nagas are themselves responsible. The cost of the administration of the district is out of all proportion to the revenue that is obtained, and we only occupied the hills after a bitter experience extending over many years, which clearly showed that annexation Summar

was the only way of preventing raids upon our villages. Had the Angami Nagas consented to respect our frontiers, they might have remained as independent as the tribes inhabiting the hills to the south of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur; but it was impossible for any civilized power to acquiesce in the perpetual harrying of its border folk.

The first period of the history of our relations with the Nagas dates from 1839 to 1846. During this time Government attempted to control the tribes by sending expeditions into the hills; but the desired result was not obtained, and raids continued to be made into British territory. From 1847 to 1850, the experiment was tried of establishing outposts in the Naga Hills. Samaguting was the first place selected, and later on Lieutenant Vincent held a stockade at Mozema, and, for a short time, at Khonoma itself. In 1851, Government withdrew from the hills, and for the next ten years the policy of non-interference was given a fair trial, with results that were very much the reverse of satisfactory. In 1866, the post at Samaguting was re-established, and in 1878, the Deputy Commissioner took up his quarters in the heart of the Angami Naga country at Kohima. Mr. Damant was the last Deputy Commissioner to come to a violent end, and, since his death in 1879, the history of the district has been the history of the gradual extension and consolidation of our rule.

tain kins ches ugh the a Hills.

The history of what is now the district of the Naga Hills down to the year 1882 is told in the North-East Frontier of Bengal, by Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Mackenzie, and need only be briefly summarised

below. The Angami country was first entered by a European in 1832, when Captain Jenkins and Captain Pemberton marched from Manipur, *via* Popolongmai and Samaguting, to Mohandiju on the Jamuna river. They were accompanied by an escort of 700 Manipuri sepoys, and during the whole of their march met with continuous and stubborn opposition. In the following year Gambhir Singh, Raja of Manipur, accompanied by Lieutenant Gordon, marched through the hills by a route a little to the east of the one followed by his two predecessors. The Nagas were at this time in the habit of raiding upon our villages in North Cachar, and the Raja of Manipur and Tula Ram Senapati,* were called upon to keep them under proper control, a request with which neither of them were in any way able to comply. This requisition was accordingly withdrawn in 1837, and it was decided to bring some pressure to bear upon the Naga tribes, through the intervention of a British officer.

First tw[o] expedit[ions] led by [Mr.] Grange 1839 an[d] 1840.

In January 1839, Mr. Grange, Sub-Assistant to the Commissioner at Nowgong, was deputed to lead the first expedition into the Angami country. His transport arrangements were, however, so inadequate, that he found himself powerless to take any definite action, and his expedition degenerated into a somewhat hurried march through a part only of the Naga Hills. Twelve months later Mr. Grange led a second expedition into the hills. He marched *via* Samaguting and Khonoma to Tokquama village, two marches further on towards

* Tula Ram Senapati was an adventurer who succeeded in making himself master of a small portion of the North Cachar Hills and the upper valley of the Kapili. His history will be found in the Gazetteer of the Cachar district.

Manipur. He met with a good deal of opposition, which he succeeded in overcoming by vigorous and at the same time cautious action, and in the course of his operations burnt down five villages which opposed him and took eleven prisoners.* The effects of these strong measures seems to have been satisfactory, and there were no Naga raids in 1840.

rd and rth ex-tions er Lieu-nt ge.

Between November 1840, and January 1842, Lieutenant Bigge, the successor of Mr. Grange, conducted two expeditions into Naga land, in the course of which he met with fairly friendly treatment from the hill men. During the second of these excursions a boundary line was laid down between Manipur and the Angami Naga territory.

1 expe-n un-Jap-Eld in

In 1843 no British officer entered the hills, but the Nagas were more enterprising and raided the plains and killed four persons. In the following year they marched into the Rengma Hills and killed nine people, and murdered three of our Shan sepoys in the North Cachar Hills. To avenge this outrage, Captain Eld entered the hills in December 1844, and burnt several of the guilty villages, including a part of the powerful village of Khonoma.

1 and nth litions. chand d at gating.

In the following year Captain Butler, who had succeeded Captain Eld as Principal Assistant Commissioner at Nowgong, made a peaceful tour through the hills; but, though he met with a friendly reception, the

* An account of this and subsequent expeditions down to 1851 will be found in Butler's Travels and Adventures in Assam.—London: Smith Elder & Co., 1855.

Nagas did not discontinue their depredations on the plains. In 1846-47, another expedition was sent into the hills, and it was decided to see whether the establishment of an outpost amongst the Naga villages might not deter these pertinacious savages from raiding on the plains. Samaguting was the place selected, and the post was entrusted to Bhogchand Daroga, a resolute and determined man, who had attracted the attention of the Administration by the courageous way in which he had extricated his small escort of the sepoys, when attacked by a greatly superior force of the Nagas. Unfortunately, Bhogchand had the faults which are often found in resolute and courageous men, and endeavoured to press on too far and fast. In 1849, he visited Mozema, to enquire into a dispute which was in progress between Nilholi and Jubili, two leading men in that village. Bhogchand, though only attended by a small and far from reliable escort, had, as Sir Alexander Mackenzie says, a firm belief in the prestige of a British constable, and conducted the whole of his proceedings exactly as he would have done in the case of a riot in the plains. One of Jubili's followers had been murdered by Nilholi's men, and Bhogchand proceeded to arrest the culprits. He then, in a spirit of severe impartiality, seized seven Kacharis who belonged to Jubili's party, and proceeded to remove his prisoners to Samaguting. Conduct of this kind was not calculated to please either side, and, though for a time it had the effect of putting an end to the feud with which the village had been torn, the result was hardly what had been intended or anticipated by Bhogchand. The two disputing chiefs combined to attack

their mutual enemy at Prephemah.* His guard was guilty of disgraceful cowardice, and Bhogchand and thirteen of the sepoys and coolies were killed.

xpedition ed by Lieu- enant Vin- ent, 1849.

It was impossible to overlook or condone the murder of our local representative, and in December 1849, an expedition was despatched under Lieutenant Vincent to avenge the Daroga's death. The troops occupied Mozema, and Nilholi and his clan retired further back into the hills. But, while Lieutenant Campbell, who was in charge of the detachment, was visiting the neighbouring village of Jotsoma, the enemy burnt down Mozema and destroyed his stores. The expedition had accordingly to return, but in March 1850, Lieutenant Vincent re-entered the hills and took up his quarters at Mozema, where he remained during the rains. He burnt the village of Jakhama, and established an outpost of forty-six men at Khonoma; but, as two sepoys were killed close by the stockade, he decided in August to concentrate his whole force at Mozema, after burning down a portion of the Khonoma village. So little reliance could be placed upon the Nagas near Khonoma that he found it necessary to prohibit the sepoys from leaving the stockade even to draw water, except in parties of twenty men under a non-commissioned officer with at least ten muskets.

Tenth expe- lition in 850.

Lieutenant Vincent's position at Mozema was far from satisfactory, and in December 1850, the tenth expedition was sent into the hills. A detachment of

* Butler (p. 178) makes no mention of Jubili having joined in the attack. His clan is said to have opposed Nilholi on his return to Mozema, and they protected three men who had been left behind in Mozema by the Daroga.

384 men of all arms, equipped with two three-pounder guns and two four-inch mortars, was despatched against the fort at Khonoma. So strong, however, were the defences that, though the guns were finally brought within 75 yards, they did no appreciable damage, and an attempt to escalade the fort was foiled by a deep trench. The force accordingly bivouacked before the village for the night, and in the morning found that the place had been abandoned. The troops then made a demonstration through the hills, and several villages which opposed their progress or declined to furnish them with supplies were burnt. One village, Kekrima, sent in two heralds to our camp and solemnly challenged us to a trial of strength. The Manipuris, so they said, were afraid to meet them, and they doubted whether the British were of a different temper. It would have been fatal to our slowly-developing prestige to decline this challenge, and a move was accordingly made against the village. Kekrima was said to contain 1,000 houses and was proportionately dreaded, but the British force consisted of 150 sepoys with two three-pounders and a mortar, and about 800 friendly Nagas armed with spears. The downfall of the challengers was complete. They left at least 100 warriors dead upon the field, while our loss in killed was only two Nagas and one camp-follower.

Policy of non-intervention.

The troops were then withdrawn from the hills, and it was determined for the future to abstain from all interference with the Nagas. The policy that it was decided to pursue was laid down in a minute by the Governor-General, the purport of which is summarised

in the following paragraph: "Hereafter," wrote Lord Dalhousie, "we should confine ourselves to our own ground; protect it as it can and must be protected; not meddle in the feuds or fights of these savages; encourage trade with them as long they are peaceful towards us; and rigidly exclude them from all communication either to sell what they have got, or to buy what they want if they should become turbulent or troublesome."

It was, however, one thing to say that we would have no dealings with the Nagas, another to prevent the Nagas from having any dealings with our people. The protection of that long line of jungle-covered frontier proved to be impossible. In 1851, after the policy of non-intervention had been definitely adopted, no less than 22 Naga raids occurred. in which 55 persons were killed, 10 wounded, and 113 taken captive. It is true that only three of these raids were positively traced to Angamis, but most of them were committed in North Cachar, and there were serious grounds for suspecting this particular section of the Naga tribes.

The policy of non-interference was given a fair trial, but it was impossible to resist the conclusion that it was unsuccessful. The local officers were repeatedly urging upon Government the necessity of taking a more vigorous line, and, in 1862, the Commissioner of Assam brought the matter prominently before the Lieutenant-Governor. It was not creditable, he said, to our Government that such atrocities should recur annually with unvarying certainty, and that we should be powerless alike to protect our subjects or to punish the aggressors. It was quite certain that our relations with the Nagas could not

be on a worse footing. The non-interference policy was excellent in theory, but Government would probably be inclined to think that it must be abandoned.

Decision to abandon the policy of non-interference, in 1866.

Sir Cecil Beadon concurred generally in these views, and directed that an officer stationed at Nowgong should be placed in immediate communication with the Nagas, that the chiefs on the border should be informed that Government held them responsible for the good conduct of their villages, and that annual stipends would be paid to them for this police duty, as long as they performed it well. In practice, however, little effect seems to have been given to these orders, and further raids in March and April 1866 again brought the Naga question into notice. The Lieutenant-Governor declined to fall back before these wild tribes, and to recede from their neighbourhood, whenever they happened to annoy us. This proposal had been made by officers in charge of the North Cachar Hills, in despair of ever being able to protect their frontier without the more vigorous action, from which, under the orders of Government, they were debarred. Sir Cecil Beadon pointed out that, were this policy generally adopted, Assam would soon be divided amongst the Bhutias, Abors, Nagas, Garos, Mishmis and other wild tribes with which it was surrounded, and which would quickly take advantage of any signs of weakness in the central Government.

Colonel Hopkinson, the Commissioner, proceeded to review the existing position with regard to North Cachar and the Nagas, and his opinions are thus summarised by Sir Alexander Mackenzie:—

1. Hopkinson's policy

"He was not himself averse from taking a more direct control of the country. He, however, pointed out that the democratic nature of the tribal arrangements among the Angamis, the infinite divisions and disputes existing even in a *single village, rendered it impossible to hope for success from the policy of conciliation ab extra* proposed by the Government. *He admitted that no system of frontier military defence that could be devised would* secure perfect immunnity from raids. A country void of roads, void of supplies,—a country of interminable hills, of vast swamps covered with dense forest, save where here and there a speck in the ocean of wilderness reveals a miserable Mikir or Kachari clearance, could not possibly be defended at every point against a foe for whom hill and swamp and forest are resources rather than obstacles. From 1854 to 1865, there had been nineteen Angami raids, in which 232 British subjects had been killed, wounded, or carried off. Ninety-two of these unfortunates had been so lost during the three years (1854-56), when a chain of outposts was in existence from Barpathar to Assaloo, connected by roads which were regularly patrolled. 'At most we should be able to keep the raids of such savages below a certain maximum, and prevent their extension to settled districts.' The settlement of a trade blockade, the Commissioner maintained, was advantageous when it could be made practically complete, and so far as it was complete; but none of these schemes would secure the peace of the frontier. They had all been tried and found wanting. If Government were prepared to consider a more advanced policy he was ready to show how it could best be carried out. He would depute a specially-qualified officer to proceed, with a force of not less than 200 men, and effect a permanent lodgment in the country at a point most convenient for keeping open communications and procuring supplies. This officer would then invite the chiefs to submit themselves to us. Those who agreed would, as a token of submission, pay an annual tribute, and in return receive our aid and protection; while those who refused would be told that we would leave them to themselves so long as they kept the peace towards us and those who submitted themselves to us."

...ut. Gregory established at ...nagu...g in 1866.

The Government of India then sanctioned the establishment of a strong post under Lieutenant Gregory at Samaguting. He was allowed a force of 150 police, all hill-men and well-armed, and was informed that his principal duty was the protection of the plains from the

incursions of the Nagas. A good deal was of necessity left to his discretion, but he was ordered not to exert himself to extend our rule into the interior. In January 1866, the Nagas of Razepema cut up a Mikir village in North Cachar. In March, Lieutenant Gregory visited Razepema and burnt it, but three months later the hillmen retaliated by killing twenty-six Mikirs in the village of Sergamcha. In the following cold weather Lieutenant Gregory visited Razepema, burnt the village, prohibited the people from re-occupying their old lands and fields, and distributed them amongst other communities.

Boundary between Manipur and the Naga Hills laid down in 1872.

The establishment of an officer in the Naga Hills had, for a time, the effect of stopping raids upon British territory, but trouble was now experienced from the side of Manipur. The area of hill country over which this State had any right to exercise jurisdiction was vague and ill-defined, and this resulted in friction with the larger and more powerful villages. The boundary line between Manipur and the Naga Hills district was accordingly laid down in 1872. The earlier line of 1842 was maintained in all essential points wherever it could be identified.* A few villages on the dividing line of the waterpent, over which Manipur had acquired supremacy, were

* This line was defined as follows :—" Commencing from the upper part of the Jiri river, the western frontier of Manipur, the line of boundary formed (1) by the Dootighur mountain, or that range of hills in which the Mookroo river takes its rise, east on to the Barak river : (2) by the Barak river up to where it is joined by the Tayphani river, which flows along the eastern side of the Popolongmai hill ; (3) by the Tayphani river up to its source on the Barail range of mountains, and (4) by the summit or waterpent of the Barail range on to the source of the Mow river flowing north from that point towards Assam.— *North-East Frontier*, p. 107.

demarcated as belonging to that State; and from the termination of the line of 1842, at a point called the Telizo Peak, eastward, the watershed of the main line of hills, which divide the affluents of the Brahmaputra from those of the Irawadi, as far as the Patkai pass, was declared to be the limit of Manipur on its northern frontier. The Naga Hills district was advanced to march with the boundary of Manipur as thus determined.*

pt. But-'s admi-stration d death 1876.

Captain Gregory was succeeded by Captain Butler in 1869, and the latter officer, who was by character and disposition admirably qualified for the appointment which he held, proceeded to gradually extend our control over the hill tribes. Survey parties under a proper escort were sent into the hills, and, when at Wokha in January 1875, a cooly was murdered and the camp attacked, the retribution taken was sharp and sudden. Butler's operations were, however, brought to a close before the end of the season, as he was ordered to proceed to avenge Lieutenant Holcombe and eighty of his men, who were treacherously attacked and killed in February by trans-Dikho Nagas.

ut. y e ied nas g ir

Previous to this, the first steps for the formal annexation of the Naga Hills had been taken by Captain Johnstone, who, in 1874, was officiating for Captain Butler. He definitely took three villages under his protection, and in token of their submission they agreed to pay revenue to Government. The example once set was soon followed by others. In the winter of 1875, survey operations were

* *North-East Frontier*, p. 123.

re-commenced, but in December Captain Butler received a mortal wound in an ambuscade at Pangti near Wokha. Lieutnant Woodthorpe promptly burnt Pangti, and the neighbouring villages remaining friendly, the work of the survey was carried to completion.

In August 1876, the Chief Commissioner again invited the attention of the Government of India to the continual aggressions of the Angamis, and more especially of the men of Khonoma and Mozema, upon Naga communities living under Manipur, and to the state of perpetual warfare which prevailed amongst the tribes. During the two preceding years, six villages had been plundered and 334 persons killed, chiefly by Khonoma and Mozema. The Supreme Government agreed that steps must now be taken to repress these outrages. While the matter was under consideration, Mozema raided the village of Gumaigaju near Asaiu in the North Cachar Hills, and killed six British subjects. In December 1877, the Political Officer, Mr. Carnegy, accompanied by a force of 246 sepoys and police, captured Mozema and burnt the village, but the Nagas still continued to occupy the surrounding hills and harass the British troops. During the course of these operations, Mr. Carnegy was accidentally shot by his own sentry, and the submission of Mozema was finally received by Captain Williamson, the Inspector-General of Police. **An active policy decided on. Mr. Carnegy's death in 1877.**

In 1877, the Secretary of State assented to the proposal that the headquarters station should be moved into some locality in the interior of the hills, and that the district staff should be strengthened, so as to **Occupation of Kohima, 1878.**

admit of the more efficient management of the tribes. In November 1878, Kohima was occupied without opposition, and by this time sixteen Naga villages had tendered their submission.

Mr. Damant's murder, 1879.

The attitude of the tribes during that cold season was most encouraging, but in June 1879, there were signs of trouble brewing in the powerful village of Khonoma. The clouds, however, seemed to pass away, the villagers paid up a fine that was imposed upon them in July, and Mr. Damant proposed to make a tour in the Ao country during the following cold weather. Before starting, he decided to visit Khonoma, and, on October 13th, he set out with an escort of 21 sepoys and 65 police. It is said that an interpreter from Jotsoma warned him that the village was hostile, and on more than one occasion fell on his knees before him and begged him not to proceed. Mr. Damant declined to believe that there was any danger. Leaving half of his escort with the baggage at the foot of the hill, he advanced with the remainder up the steep pathway leading to the village. The gate was closed, and as he stood before it he was shot dead, and a volley was poured into his escort, who broke and fled. The Nagas then poured out of the village and down the hill, and completely dispersed the troops, killing 35 and wounding 19.

Siege of Kohima.

The news was carried the same day to Kohima, and a messenger was quickly sent to Wokha to call in the small detachment stationed there under Mr. Hinde. On October 21st, Kohima was besieged, but the troubles of the garrison did not last for long; as

on the 27th, Colonel Johnstone marched in, unopposed, with a strong force of Manipuris.

Within the short space of five years three British Officers had been murdered by the hill-men, and it was obviously time that the Nagas should be taught a lesson. A force consisting of the 44th Sylhet Light Infantry (the present 8th Gurkha Rifles), a detachment of the 43rd Assam Light Infantry (the present 7th Gurkha Rifles) and two mountain guns was sent into the hills. Khonoma was assaulted on the 22nd November. In the attack we lost two British Officers—Major Cock, the D.A.A.G., and Lieutenant Forbes; and the Subadar Major of the 44th Native Infantry killed, two British and two Native Officers wounded, and 44 of the rank and file killed and wounded. During the night the village was abandoned, and the Nagas retreated to a strongly fortified position on the crest of the Barail range, where, as they were excluded from their fields and villages, it was decided to reduce them by a blockade. Of the thirteen villages hostile to us, Piphima, Merrima, Sachima, Sephama, and Pachama were attacked and destroyed before the troops advanced against Khonoma, Lieutenant Maxwell being severely wounded before Sephama. The troops moved about the hills and punished the villages that had opposed us, but the Khonoma men still continued to hold out. **Punitive measures in 1880.**

Towards the end of January, they perpetrated a raid of unusual daring and atrocity. A party of the beleaguered Nagas succeeded in making their way from the crest of the hill on which they had taken up their position, and marched to Baladhan, a tea-garden **Raid on Baladhan garden in Cachar.**

in Cachar, fully 80 miles distant as the crow flies from Khonoma. They attacked the factory at night, killed the manager, Mr. Blyth, and sixteen of the coolies, and burnt down everything in the place. They then returned with such plunder as they could obtain to their original position.

ubmission f Khonoma nd pacification of istrict.

In March, the Khonoma men at last submitted, but they were ordered to vacate their village site, and their terraced fields were confiscated. The latter part of the order was subsequently withdrawn, as it was found impossible to induce them to take up land elsewhere; and no other Nagas ventured to occupy the confiscated fields from fear of possible reprisals. The villagers were assessed to revenue, which was at first imposed at the rate of one rupee, and one maund of rice per house. Subsequently it was altered to two rupees per house, the rate usually paid at that time by other hill tribes in Assam; and the process of pacification and the extension of our rule was steadily continued. For some time, however, small punitive expeditions were a regular feature of the administration of the district, as it was only by this means that independent Nagas could be taught that the lives and property of those who had submitted to us must be respected. None of these expeditions met with any serious opposition, and there was no repetition of the painful incidents of the seventies.

urning of atami.

In May 1888, the Semas of Ratami murdered two Lhotas who were British subjects, and declined to obey the order of the Deputy Commissioner directing them to come in and answer to the charge. A strong force was led against the village by Mr. McCabe. As the villagers

opposed the advance of the troops, it was necessary to open fire, and some 50 or 60 of the enemy were killed. The punishment of Ratami had a most excellent effect, and two other villages that had committed murders paid up the fines imposed without demur.

In 1885, Mr. McCabe made a promenade through the Ao country and met with no serious opposition, and in 1889 this territory was incorporated within the boundaries of the district. In April 1888, Mr. McCabe crossed the Dikho with a small force of military police, to punish the four villages Yajim, Chihu, Noksen, and Litam, who were guilty of raiding on the western or British side of the Dikho. The four villages were burned, and, though some resistance was offered, it was brushed aside without much difficulty. The Mozung tribe of Nagas, to which these villages belonged, were not, however, the men to acquiesce in punishment of this kind, without attempting reprisals. They found themselves unable to offer any effective opposition to our troops, but in June 1888, they suddenly attacked the two Ao villages of Mongsemdi and Lungkung, and killed 148 persons in the former and 40 in the latter. Steps were immediately taken to protect our territory from a repetition of these outrages, and a guard of 50 men was posted in a strong stockade at Mongsemdi. The stockade was attacked shortly afterwards at night by a body of Mozung Nagas, but they were beaten off without difficulty. In January 1889, the Deputy Commissioner led a force of 200 men across the Dikho to punish the offenders. Feeling that the troops were too strong to be opposed, they offered little resistance, and burnt five

Raid and punishmen of Mozung-jami in 188

of their villages, in the hope apparently that this would serve to check our advance. Altogether ten villages, including Mozungjami, were destroyed, with a considerable quantity of grain; but only five or six of the enemy were killed, and the expedition failed to recover some captives who were said to have been carried off from the Ao villages. On his return from Mozungjami, the Deputy Commissioner was again compelled to recross the Dikho, to punish Tangsa and two *khels* of Yangia, who had been guilty of murdering Nagas who were to all intents and purposes the subjects of the Crown. It was found impossible to procure the surrender of the actual offenders, and the houses of the guilty communities were therefore burnt.

he Nagas istake jus-ce for tim-ity, and ampong is urnt in 892.

In 1892, the village of Yampong was burnt, under circumstances which clearly show how prone the savage is to mistake clemency for weakness. A native of a village called Sangtam killed an Ao who had crossed the Dikho on a trading expedition, and then fled to Yampong. The Deputy Commissioner proceeded to Yampong and demanded the surrender of the murderer; but the villagers declared that they were unable to comply with his request as the man had fled once more and they were ignorant of his whereabouts. The Deputy Commissioner then burnt the murderer's house, and ordered the people of Yampong not to harbour him in future; but as they were not in any way responsible for the murder did not inflict any punishment upon them. Fear was the only motive to which the Nagas could ascribe such leniency, and Yampong at once proceeded to attack the villagers that had furnished the expedition

with supplies. The Deputy Commissioner was accordingly compelled to return; the people of Yampong opposed his advance, and then evacuated the village, and, as they declined to come in and surrender or pay a fine, there was nothing for it but to fire the houses. Shortly afterwards the villagers tendered their submission, and thus afforded another instance of the good effect exercised on the Naga mind by the burning of his home. As far as that part of the country was concerned, it was, the Deputy Commissioner said, an undoubted fact that burning a village led almost immediately to the establishment of good relations with the inhabitants. Strangely enough, after they had been burnt out, the people seemed to consider that they had become the children of the Maharani.

Only one expedition in the past thirteen years.

Since that date it has only been necessary to despatch one regular punitive expedition, though the Deputy Commissioner, when touring in what was known as the area of political control, was generally accompanied by a guard; and from time to time it was found necessary to punish villages who declined to surrender the actual persons guilty of a murder. In November 1903, the Pelasi *khel* of Mozungjami killed two Aos who had gone across the Dikho to trade, and in the following month the Chongpu *khel* carried off three mithun from British territory. It was impossible to obtain reparation for these outrages, and in January 1905, the Deputy Commissioner proceeded to the village with a force of 100 men of the military police. The inhabitants abandoned their homes, and killed two of the transport coolies who were straggling, and as a punishment the Deputy

Commissioner burnt the village and killed a considerable number of pigs and cattle.

Alterations in the area of the district in 1905.

Since the incorporation of the Ao country, the area of the district has been diminished by the transfer of the valley of the Dhansiri and the Mikir Hills to Sibsagar and Nowgong, and increased by the addition of the territory which was formerly known as the area of political control, and a strip of country lying on the east.

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION.

Area and density—Towns and villages—Growth of the population—Immigration—Sex and civil condition—Infirmities—Religions—Occupations.

FEW districts have experienced more changes in their boundaries, and consequently in their areas, than the Naga Hills. In the previous chapter it has been shown that the boundaries of British territory have been slowly and gradually extended, and this, where the adjacent country is occupied by savage tribes, is a process that is always liable to be continued. The independent villages from time to time raid into British territory, or murder British subjects who have gone for purposes of trade beyond the frontier, and punishment and pacification follow in due course. The villages beyond our frontier are enamoured of the security that our rule affords, and apply to be taken under our protection, and the boundaries of the district have accordingly been from time to time enlarged. In 1890, the country occupied by the Aos was **Area and density.**

formed into the subdivision of Mokokchung, and in 1903, the area of what was known as the Political Control was definitely incorporated in the district. The construction of the railway through the Nambar forest up to Lakhimpur has, on the other hand, rendered it easier to administer the valley of the Dhansiri and the Mikir Hills from Nowgong and Golaghat, and in 1898, a large portion of the district of the Naga Hills was transferred to Sibsagar and Nowgong. In 1901, the area of the district was 3,070 square miles, the population was 102,402, and the density 83 to the square mile. The area of the Kohima subdivision was 2,337 square miles, and the density 29 to the square mile, while in Mokokchung, which covered an area of 738 square miles, there was a density of 46.

At first sight, these figures would suggest that the district is sparsely peopled, but this is not the case. A country which is entirely composed of hills must obviously include large tracts of land which are quite unfit for cultivation. Most of the remainder is only fit for *jhuming*, and *jhuming* postulates a large area of fallowing land.* In parts of the district there is no doubt plenty of waste land on which *jhum* crops might easily be raised, but this is not the case in the Angami territory. Some of the larger villages

* It is true that the Maring Nagas in Manipur who cultivate on the *jhum* system have not sufficient land to allow of their leaving it fallow for any length of time but the crops obtained are poor, and the *jhums* are covered with an elaborate system of herring-bone drains to prevent the rain from washing all the surface soil from the slopes.

like Khonoma are positively pressed for land, and the people have carved out into terraced rice fields the most precipitous and unlikely looking slopes.

Towns and villages.

In 1901 the district contained one town, if town it can be called, and 292 villages. The Naga villages are very different from the straggling groves of plantains, palms, and bamboos, to which, in the plains, this name is usually applied. They are generally built along the tops of hills, and in the old days of intertribal feuds were strongly fortified and entered through a village gate. In the plains of Assam it is often hard to say where one village ends and the next begins; but there is none of this uncertainty in the Naga Hills. The village is like a little town which often stands out sharp against the sky line, and it possesses distinct and definite village lands which are cultivated by its inhabitants, or are sometimes let to their less fortunate neighbours.

Amongst the Aos and Lhotas the houses are generally arranged in regular streets along the tops of the ridge. The Angamis and the Semas place their houses in any locality within the village wall that seems convenient. The hill on which Khonoma stands is very steep, and the houses are built on little terraces along the sides. The roof of one house is often several feet below the plinth of its next-door neighbour, and some of the village paths are quite precipitous. Building land is very scarce, and a site will fetch from Rs 300 to Rs. 400. The following description of an Ao village is taken from Colonel Woodthorpe's Report on the survey operations in the Naga Hills in 1874-75.

"The villages, which are usually large, as a rule occupy the *most commanding* points along the ridges, and the approaches *to them are exceedingly pretty. Broad roads, bordered with grass and low shrubs, lead up, through avenues of fine trees, to the main entrance, which is generally very strongly guarded by two or three panjied ditches, running right across the ridge and stockaded on the inner bank.* The stockades are strongly built of a double line of posts, supporting a wall of interlaced bamboo, and are capable of offering a good resistance. The outermost ditch is generally about 200 or 300 yards, or even more, away from the village, the second being situated between it and the one enclosing the village. The gate through the stockade of this last ditch into the village is cut out of one huge block, and is frequently four or five feet broad and about six feet high. A large gable roof is constructed over it, giving it a resemblance to our old lychgates at home. Lookouts are built commanding the entrance, and in some cases little huts are constructed in large trees outside the most advanced stockades on the main roads, communications being preserved with the interior by means of long ladders and causeways."

Many of the village gates are still in existence, great doors made of thick planks, adorned on the outside with roughly carved bas-reliefs of animals and men. But they are almost invariably left open, and, even were they closed, the would-be-visitor would have no difficulty in walking round them. When a *ghenna* is in progress the gate is closed, and visitors are rigorously excluded. The Naga villages are extremely dirty, the cattle, fowls, and pigs all live in the house inhabited by the family, and there is generally a great heap of manure in the courtyard. The houses are packed close together, and there are no fruit trees, bamboos, or gardens round them. But this absence of vegetation has no doubt a most salutary effect, as it leaves the place exposed to the purifying influence of the sun and air.

The following abstract shows the total number of



KOHIMA.

villages occupied by each tribe at the last census, the average population of each village:—

	No. of villages.	Average population.
Angamis	64	450
Lhotas	61	293
Aos	52	578
Rengma	10	420
Kacha Naga	26	248
Sema	9	523
Kuki	26	128

Kohima Station.

The largest villages are to be found amongst the Angamis and the Aos, and some of the more important ones almost attain the dignity of little towns. The village of Kohima, for instance, which stands on the hill just above Kohima station, contains over 800 houses, and has a population of nearly 3,000 souls.

The station of Kohima is situated on a saddle on the watershed, and commands a fine view down the valley of the Rengmapani or Zubza to the north, and over a great expanse of hilly country towards the east. There is none of the fine open rolling country which is the great attraction of Shillong, and the roads are cut out along the edge of the hill-sides, which fall away in sharp ravines from the watershed. In the centre of the saddle stands the old fort, in which are situated the treasury, the magazine, the post and telegraph office, and the office of the Deputy Commissioner. A little to the east, but lower down the hill, are the parade ground and the quarters of the regimental officers, with the sepoys' lines in the immediate vicinity. On the northern side of the saddle are the military

police lines, the shops of the few traders that the town possesses, and a very small bazar, supplies being extremely scarce in Kohima. A little further down the hill are the huts of a few Manipuris, Khasis, and Nagas who have left their native villages to take up their residence in the metropolis of the district. The station is lighted by nine acetylene lamps, and has an excellent but somewhat scanty water-supply, which is brought from Polubadze hill, and distributed by pipes all over the civil lines and the cantonment.

-wth of popula-
1.

It is difficult to measure the growth of the population in the district. The first census was taken in 1891, and, though a careful estimate was made in 1881, the district as then constituted did not include the Mokokchung subdivision (population 1891—26,416), and did include the valley of the Dhansiri and the Mikir Hills, which, in 1898, were transferred to Sibsagar and Nowgong. The abstract in the margin shows the population based on the assumption that the boundaries of the district were the same in 1881 and 1891 as they were at the last census. It will be seen that the increase is comparatively small, but the Nagas are by no means a prolific race. In 1901, there were only 85 children under five for every 100 married women between 15 and 40, as compared with 115 and 110 in Nowgong and Kamrup. The number of childless married couples is unusually large, and even where a woman does have children it is seldom that she becomes the mother of a large family. The Nagas pride themselves on the strength and endurance of their womenkind, and say that in these respects they

...95,570
...96,637
...102,402

are little inferior to the men. These qualities have doubtless been developed by the continuous hard work they are called on to perform, and such development is not unfrequently attended by a weakening of the reproductive powers. The Semas form an exception to the general rule, and this particular tribe is said to be increasing rapidly in numbers.

Immigration. There is little immigration into the hills, and in 1901, 94 per cent. of the population had been born within the boundaries of the district, while another 4 per cent. were natives of Assam. Most of the foreigners were Nepalese, who were either serving in the regiment or the military police battalion, or had taken their discharge and settled down to cultivation. The rest of the foreign population consisted of a few coolies and cartmen from Bengal and the United Provinces, a few artizans from the Punjab, and a few traders from Marwar. Emigration from the district could not be measured with any degree of accuracy, owing to the changes in boundary that had recently taken place. A certain number of Nagas go down to the plains in the cold weather to trade or to look for work on tea-gardens, but there is very little migration of a permanent character, the hillman seldom caring to leave his native village.

Sex and Civil condition. In 1901, there was a preponderance of the male element in the population, there being only 982 females to every 1,000 males. This disproportion between the sexes is, however, entirely due to the foreigners, and amongst those born and censused in the district the number of women was almost exactly equal to

the number of the men. Women are in a minority amongst the Angamis and the Kaccha Nagas, and in a majority amongst the Lhotas and the Aos. Infant marriage is practically unknown. Out of the 29,621 females in the district, who in 1901 had performed the marriage ceremony, only 114 were below the age of 15. Most of the tribes allow their girls great liberty, not to say license, prior to their marriage, but so long as they are living with their husbands they generally make faithful wives. The Lhotas are, however, an exception to this rule, and amongst them the *ménage a trois* is by no means unusual. Many of the customs that govern the relations between the sexes are distinctly curious. The Angamis, for instance, shave the heads of their unmarried girls, a fashion which goes far to counterbalance the effect of the good looks that many of them undoubtedly possess. Bachelors, too, are required to wear their hair in a fringe which is strongly suggestive of a coster belle and which is extremely unbecoming in comparison with the waving locks that adorn the forehead of the married man. The different customs of the various tribes are, however, discussed at length in Mr. Davis' monograph on the Nagas, and need not be referred to here. The slow growth of the population, to which reference has been already made, is, perhaps, to some extent due to the fact that the proportion of potential mothers, *i.e.*, of married women between 15 and 40 is below the Provincial average. They form only 152 per mille of the total population as compared with 157 per mille in the Province of Assam as a whole, and 170 per mille in the Central Provinces.

From the following abstract it will be seen that, though the district is singularly free from leprosy, deaf-mutism and blindness are extraordinarily common :— **Infirmities**

Out of 10,000 males, number afflicted with	Naga Hills.	Assam.	India.
Insanity ...	4	5	3
Deaf-mutism ...	49	9	6
Blindness ...	17	10	12
Leprosy ...	3	13	5

The figures given are for males only, but deaf-mutism is almost as prevalent amongst the women, and *blindness is even more common. The Deputy Commissioner*, who was consulted as to the accuracy of the figures, wrote as follows: "I am not at all surprised to hear that the rate is very high, as in almost every village, certainly amongst the Angamis, there are deaf mutes. In some of the smaller villages every second person is either deaf or dumb, or insane. This I know from my personal experience. The small villages to the north of Kohima are the worst in this respect. I can only attribute the prevalence of the infirmity to the results of intermarriage, and the fact that it is more prevalent in the smaller villages would corroborate this, as Nagas, as a rule, marry in their own villages."

The principal languages spoken in the hills are Angami, Ao, Lhota, Rengma and Sema. Ao again is divided into two distinct dialects—Chungli and Mongsen. The number of persons belonging to each of these five tribes, as returned at the census of 1901, will be found in Table II. These languages were originally derived from the same stock, but, at the present day, they have **Language.**

diverged so far from one another, that a thorough knowledge of one of the five, helps little towards the comprehension of the other four. An excellent account of these languages will be found in the Report on the Census of Assam in 1891, Volume I, pages 163-176, and the Linguistic Survey of India, by Dr. Grierson, Volume III, Part II, pages 194-289.

Tribes. The principal tribes living in the district are the Angamis, the Aos, the Semas, and the Lhotas; and after them, but *longo intervallo,* come the Kaccha Nagas and the Rengmas. The numbers returned under each of these tribes at the census of 1901 will be found in Table III, but since that date about 80,000 people, most of whom are Semas, have been included in the boundaries of the district. The most warlike and important of these tribes are the Angamis, who occupy the country in the neighbourhood of Kohima. North of them come the Rengmas, then the Lhotas, while north and east of the Lhotas are the Aos, whose villages stretch up to the Dikho river. The Semas live east of the Rengmas and the Aos. Full details with regard to the manners and customs of the various tribes of Nagas will be found in Mr. Davis' exhaustive treatise on the subject. The only other tribes that are found in any numbers in the district are the Kacharis and the Kukis. Accounts of these tribes will be found in the Gazetteer of Cachar, a district to which they more properly belong.

Religion. The great mass of the Nagas are still faithful to the religion of their forefathers, and in 1901, 96 per cent. of the population were described as 'animistic.'

The people believe in the existence of a supreme creator, but, as, like the Hindu Brahma, his work is done, they do not trouble themselves very much about him. Sickness and other misfortunes which befall them they ascribe to the malignant action of evil spirits, who they endeavour to propitiate with sacrifices. Most of them believe that there is something in a man which survives the death of the body, but what it is, and where it goes, they cannot say. Further information on this subject will be found in Mr. Davis' monograph. Hindus formed 8 per cent. of the population, but practically all of them were foreigners. Hinduism has no attraction for the Naga. In the plains converts gravitate towards it in obedience to the law which draws the smaller body towards the greater. All men like to follow the fashion, even though it may entail considerable personal inconvenience, so year by year the animistic tribes are abandoning their pork, and fowl, and beer, though many a longing eye is cast upon the flesh pots of Egypt. But in the hills no distinction is conferred by Hinduism, and nothing less than a strong desire for social advancement would induce a Naga to adopt a religion which would impose on him so many troublesome restrictions.

Christianity, too, has as yet made little progress. In 1876, a branch of the American Baptist Mission was opened at Molung, which, in 1894, was transferred to Impur. About 1879, another member of this Mission took up his residence at Kohima, and work was started amongst the Angami Nagas. In 1904, there were altogether four missionaries, three of whom were assisted

by their wives, living amongst the Naga tribes. The number of Native Christians has increased, but progress has hitherto been slow. In 1891, there were 211 Native Christians in the district; in 1901 there were 579, nearly all of whom were Baptists. The Naga is a much more conservative person than the Khasi, and finds it difficult to abandon the customs of his ancestors. Most of them are fairly contented with their present mode of life, and it is hardly likely that there will be any general change of faith for some time to come.

Minor Religions.—Buddhists 397; Moslems 12; Jains 5; Sikhs 3.

The abstract in the margin gives details for other religions which had but few representatives at the time of the last census. Nearly all of these persons were found in the station of Kohima. The Buddhists are Nepalese serving in the regiment or the military police, the Jains are shop-keepers from Marwar, the Muhammadans artizans and traders.

Occupations.

At the census of 1901 the occupations of the people were divided into 520 different heads, for which details will be found in the second volume of the Census Report. This elaborate classification was intended for the more developed parts of India, and the occupations of the natives of a hill district in Assam practically begin and end with agriculture. Agriculture was the means of support of 93 per cent. of the population, but though cultivation is the mainstay of the Naga, he now and then combines it with some subsidiary occupation. Most of them, for instance, will do a little trading if they can, and many of them turn out to work as coolies during the cold weather. The soldiers and military policemen with their families formed 2 per cent. of the population

tion, and 1 per cent. were described as beggars, though these were probably only aged and infirm persons who were supported by their relatives and friends. The number of persons returned under each of the eight main orders, and the proportion that they formed of the whole, was as follows :—

		Percentage on total population.
A. Government	2,388	2·3
B. Pasture and agriculture	96,059	93·6
C. Personal service...	424	0·4
D. Preparation and supply of material substance	1,034	1·0
E. Commerce, transport and storage ...	371	0·4
F. Professions	325	0·3
G. Unskilled labour not agricultural ...	364	0·4
H. Means of subsistence independent of occupation	1,437	1·4

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTS.

Jhum Cultivation—The Terraced cultivation of the Angamis—Agricultural implements—Live stock—Forests.

Jhum cultivation.

THE ordinary method of cultivation practised in the hills is the system known as *jhum*. The jungle growing on the hill-side is cut down, left for six weeks or so to dry, and burned between January and March. The boughs of larger trees, and any rubbish that was not consumed in the first conflagration are then collected and burnt, and the ground hoed up. The seeds of hill rice, millet, and job's-tears are scattered amongst the ashes, or dibbled in, and the fields carefully raked over till they are quite smooth. While the crop is growing it is weeded once or twice. The millet is harvested in July, the rice in November, and the job's-tears in the following month. Chillies, pumpkins, and *til* are also grown in the *jhums*, and on the slopes of the lower hills above Golaghat cotton is an important crop.

The system of *jhum* cultivation has several

drawbacks. The crop is entirely dependent on the rain-fall for the moisture it requires to bring it to maturity, much time and trouble has to be expended in the clearing of the *jhums*, and the amount of land required is very large. A *jhum* is, as a rule, only cultivated for two seasons in succession and then allowed to fallow for seven or eight years. After the second year, the yield falls off, and the weeds spring up and choke the crop. There is a risk, too, that the roots of the scrub jungle may be killed; and the land depends to some extent for its fertility on the re-growth of this jungle, and its subsequent conversion into a bed of ash manure. A village thus requires of culturable land about five times the area actually under cultivation at any given time, and the outlying *jhums* of the larger communities must, of necessity, be sometimes situated at a considerable distance from the village site. On the other hand the yield of the *jhum* is large, and as long as they have sufficient land available the Nagas seem to prefer *jhuming* to any other system of cultivation.

The terraced cultivation of the Angamis.

A considerable area is *jhumed* by the Angami Nagas, but their desire for rice, which does not do well in *jhums* at an elevation of more than 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and the pressure of population on the soil, has driven them to adopt the system of terraced cultivation. The slopes of the hills below their villages are cut out into a succession of terraces, which are irrigated from the hill streams, whose water is carefully distributed through little channels over every step in the series. When the slope is fairly gentle these terraces are sometimes nearly twenty yards

in breadth and not more than two feet high; but fields as large as this are by no means common. The average terrace is more than three feet high, and is not more than three or four yards wide, and is often built up with stone retaining walls. In places these stone walls are as much as five feet high, in places the terraces are not more than two feet wide, and as they have to follow the contour of the hill-side they are never of any considerable length.

An ample supply of water is an absolute necessity for terraced cultivation, and, where this is to be had, fields are cut out on slopes which are almost precipitous in their steepness. Sometimes the terraces are simply dug out of the earth and are not faced with stone, but near Khonoma they even go so far as to build low walls across their *jhum* land to prevent the soil from being washed away by the rain. This system of terraced cultivation was probably introduced from the south, and without it the large and populous Angami villages could not exist, as they have not sufficient land in their vicinity to support them by the wasteful system of *jhuming*.

The initial labour required to make these terraced fields is very great, but, once made, they give less trouble than a *jhum*. They are close to the village site, and jungle clearing is not necessary. Many of these terraces are almost entirely dependent on the rainfall, and fields which can be kept under water during the cold weather are particularly valuable. This irrigated rice is raised in the same way as the *sali dhan* of Assam. The soil is thoroughly saturated with moisture, and then held

up till it is reduced to a rich puddle. The rice has in the meanwhile been sown on the hill-side, and when the plants are from a month to six weeks old, they are transplanted into the fields. Harvesting goes on in December; the ears are cut off short by the head and threshed in the field before being carried up to the village.

The Angamis generally store their grain in the house in huge baskets about four feet high and proportionately wide, but most of the tribes keep it in granaries outside the village, from fear of fire or rats. There is nothing, except his sense of honour and the severity of the punishment that would follow on detection, to prevent a man from helping himself to his neighbour's grain; and the existence of this custom is a striking testimony to the high standard of honesty observed in their relations with one another.

Amongst other crops the Nagas raise cucumbers, Other cro gourds, a bean not unlike a large variety of French bean, and a little indigo, which is intended solely for home use. A few plants of tobacco are also grown in the village, and the fibre of a nettle is used for thread though the plant is hardly cultivated in the sense in which that term is usually employed. Attempts have been made to introduce the cultivation of potatoes, but they are at present chiefly grown by foreign settlers in the neighbourhood of Kohima. The Nagas are not such radicals and progressives as the Khasis, and are not so ready to abandon the traditions of their ancestors. Cotton is grown by the Lhota Nagas on the lower hills, and in 1903-04, it was estimated that about 4,500 maunds were exported to Golaghat. Maize is grown, but is not much in

favour with the Nagas, and is generally raised by foreigners residing in the district. Oranges are planted by the Lhotas and Aos on the hills overlooking the Sibsagar district, and peaches, pears, pineapples, leechees, mangoes, and European vegetables do well in the lower hills, though they have not yet been adopted by the Nagas.

ricultural plements. The following is a list of the agricultural implements in use—(1) a short handled hoe, (2) a dao or bill hook, (3) a bamboo rake, (4) a wooden pestle and mortar, (5) a wooden mallet to break up the clods, (6) a sickle, (7) a bamboo flail, and (8) an axe.

e-stock. The live-stock of the Nagas consist of mithun (*bos frontalis*), cattle, pigs, and dogs, the latter being included as they are a favourite article of food. The cattle are a sturdy little breed. There is no dearth of grazing ground, they are never worked, and as they are not milked, the calf does not suffer from want of proper nourishment. The pure-bred Naga bull is black, and if it has no white about it, will fetch from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50, a cow costing from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25. There are no bullocks in the Naga villages, and these animals are simply kept for food and for the manure they yield, great heaps of which are generally to be seen in the court-yard of a Naga house. Mithun are kept by the Kacha Nagas, the Semas, and the Kukis, and cost from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60. The pigs are of the ordinary black Indian breed and are fine healthy animals, in spite of the fact that every male is gelt when it is less than two months old, and that the race is continued by the most immature of sires.

Dogs, as a rule, are the ordinary pariah breed. Foot and mouth disease breaks out occasionally in the hills, but the cattle are, on the whole, fairly free from sickness.

Forests. In their natural state the hills were originally clothed with evergreen forest. This forest still remains on the more precipitous slopes and in the valley bottoms, but from most of the hill-sides the trees have vanished before the dao and torch of the cultivator, and the sites of fallowing *jhums* are generally covered by a dense jungle of bamboos. There is only one reserved forest in the district, which is situated on the borders of Sibsagar, at the point where the Disai river debouches on the plains. This reserve was constituted in 1902, and covers an area of 68 square miles. The forest covers the low outlying hills and the intervening valleys, and contains nahor (*mesua ferrea*), ajhar (*lagerstræmia flos reginæ*), titasapa (*michelia champaca*), sam (*artocarpus chaplasha*), poma (*cedrela toona*), gunserai (*cinnamomum glanduliferum*), amari (*amoora spectabilis*), khakan (*duabanga sonneratioides*), hollock (*terminalia bicolorata*), Hollong (*dipterocarpus bondii*), and hingori (*castanopsis rufescens*). The receipts from this reserve in 1902-03 were about Rs. 1,200. This forest is managed from the Sibsagar district, to which for all intents and purposes it belongs, and generally speaking no attempt is made at forest conservancy or management in the Naga Hills. In order, however, to maintain a supply of timber near Kohima, and to prevent the station water-supply from contamination, the timber on the Pulebadze hill is reserved, and may not be felled except under the order of the Deputy Commissioner. Very little rubber

is tapped in the district, but agar (*aquilaria agallocha* cinnamon, wild cardamoms, and wax are found. Wax was selling at Kohima in 1904 at Re. 1 per seer.

CHAPTER V.

INDUSTRIES—ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRADE.

Arts and Industries—Weaving—Iron Work and Pottery—Mats—Salt and Silk—Rents—Wages—Prices—Food—Dress—Houses—Economic Condition of the People—Cart road—Bridle Paths—Post and Telegraph—Trade.

Arts and Industries

THE industries practised in the hills are small and unimportant. Nearly all the cloths worn by the Nagas are made at home by the women. The loom is of the simplest character, and consists of little more than a few sticks, on which the warp is supported. Descriptions of mechanical processes of this nature are not very intelligible without a complete series of diagrams. Those interested in the subject will find a long account of the Naga methods of spinning and weaving, and of the cloths produced, in the Monograph on the cotton fabrics of Assam, published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, at Calcutta, in 1897, pages 61-63 and 164-174. The cloths are

Weaving.

strong and warm, and are generally of a distinctly picturesque and pleasing pattern. The miniature kilt worn by the Angamis as a loin cloth is made of dark-blue thread, and is often embroidered with cowries. Their outer cloth has generally a dark-blue body, with a broad border of green and orange, or red and yellow stripes. Under this they wear a white cloth, with a border of blue or red. The Semas and Lhotas generally wear cloths made of broad stripes of white and blue, while blue and red is the favourite colour of the Aos. The Kacha Nagas affect a white cloth with a narrow border of madder and blue.

Iron work and pottery. Village blacksmiths make daos, spear-heads, hoes, and knives from imported iron. The iron-work is of a very simple character, but the shafts of the spears and the handles of the daos are sometimes decorated with goats' hair, dyed dark-blue, white, and red. Earthenware pots are made at Viswema and Kuzama amongst the Angami Nagas, and at Chanki and Japu amongst the Aos. The clay is laid on in strips and not fashioned on the wheel, but the outturn is not large, as empty gourds and sections of bamboo are often used where a plainsman would employ an earthenware or metal vessel.

Mats. Nearly all the tribes make baskets and mats of split bamboo, and the Angamis store their rice in huge baskets about four feet high and of a proportionately wide girth. They are also very clever at making leggings of split cane dyed a bright red or yellow. The village gates sometimes have the rough figure of a man or of a mithun head cut on them; and a wealthy man

occasionally makes some attempt to decorate the front planks of his house. Some of the Angamis erect over the graves wooden figures which possess a certain rude merit, and in both Angami and Sema villages the exploits of a man alike in love and war are commemorated by quaint carvings. Salt is made at the brine wells **Salt and sil** of the Kacha Naga village of Lakema. The water is evaporated in iron cauldrons, but the cost of the firewood is heavy, and the salt is sold for 8 annas a seer, or for four times more than the imported article. It is very dirty, and is evidently full of impurities, but that appears to be an additional attraction to the Naga. It is regarded as a luxury and is only used to suck between sips of their national beverage *zu*. Salt is also imported in considerable quantities from the independent villages, Melomi and Primi. An attempt has recently been made to introduce the cultivation of the mulberry silk worm. The climate is doubtless favourable for sericulture, but the dirt of the Naga village is likely to prejudicially affect the worm.

The standard of measurement for Naga land is not **Rents.** area, but the number of loads of paddy that it yields. Terraced rice land is both sold and let. Some years ago, when the construction of the cart road had put a great quantity of money in circulation in the district, rupees, as the Naga expresses it, were 'cheap.' An acre of terraced rice land near Khonoma at that time fetched as much as Rs. 600; but now, that rupees are 'dear,' it can be bought for about one-third of that sum. An acre of terraced rice land lets from three to nine rupees a year according to quality, while an acre of *jhum* land can be

rented for the two seasons, during which it is cultivated for a rupee and a half. It must, however, be borne in mind that the absence of any system of measurement renders the exact pitch of these rents a little doubtful.

Wages. During the cold weather Nagas will work fairly readily on the road for six annas a day. Off the cart road, coolies are the usual means of transport, and receive eight annas a march near Kohima, and from four to eight annas in the eastern part of the district. The government rate is usually accepted by the Nagas as their standard in their dealings with one another, but an exchange of labour often obviates the necessity for making any actual money payment.

Prices. The price of rice is not of much importance except to the foreign population, as the Nagas seldom either buy or sell. Since the construction of the cart road, rice has been comparatively cheap at Kohima, as it is imported from Manipur. Between 1898-99 and 1902-03, it ranged from Re. 1-14 to Rs. 3-8 per maund, which was very much less than the prices previously ruling in the bazar. In 1903-04, it suddenly rose to Rs. 5-4 per maund, as it was feared that, owing to the smallness of the rainfall, the harvest in Manipur would be a very poor one. Since the completion of the railway to Dimapur, there has been a great reduction in the charges on account of frieght, and a consequent general fall in prices. Dal and salt sold respectively for Rs. 11 and Rs. 10 per maund in 1896-97, but in 1903-04, they were selling for Rs. 5-8-0 and Rs. 4-8-0 per maund.

Food. The staple food of the people is rice, but the Nagas eat meat whenever they can get it, and are quite

indifferent as to the stage of putrefaction that it may have reached. Beef and pork are probably more often eaten than other kinds of flesh, but this is only because they are more easily procurable. Roasted dog is much esteemed, and, apart from milk, there is hardly anything which the Naga will not eat. Why they abstain from milk is not quite clear. They do not seem to have any prejudice against it, but say that they have never learnt to milk their cows, and that if the calf is deprived of milk it cannot thrive. They have no prejudice against the leavings of a European, and a Naga gladly accepts anything that may be over from the Saheb's lunch, and picks the chicken bones as cleanly as a dog. When a cow is killed the bones are not thrown away till every particle of flesh has been gnawed off them, and the houses often reek with the stench of these putrifying fragments. All the tribes consume enormous quantities of rice beer, which seems to serve as food as well as drink. The way in which this beer is brewed is described in the paragraph on excise.

The dress of the Nagas varies from zero to a comparatively high figure, both from the point of view of quantity and quality. The dress of the naked Nagas, who live in the extreme north-east corner of the district, consists of a few strips of blackened cane or a broad strip of white bark, bound tightly round the waist, a large tail of bark being often left hanging down behind. The Angami Naga, on the other hand, will wear in the winter as many as four large shawls, which afford a really efficient protection against the cold. Their small blue kilts are often embroidered with **Dress.**

cowries; and their gaily-coloured cane gaiters, their ornaments of pigs' tushes, and their collarettes and armlets of goats' hair dyed flaming red, are remarkably effective and picturesque.

Houses. The Naga house is almost invariably dark and dirty, but the style of building differs very considerably amongst the different tribes. The Angami house is faced with planks, and has a thatched roof that slopes from the ridge pole to within a few feet of the ground. The side walls are made of reeds, or thatch, or planks, and, as they have no windows, the interior of the building is extremely dark. A fair-sized house is about 28 feet long and 22 feet broad, and the roof projects some four feet more in front of the front wall, thus forming a small porch. The house is divided into three rooms. In the outer room stand the huge baskets in which the rice is stored, and it is here that the cattle are stabled for the night. In the inner rooms the family cook, and eat, and sleep. An Angami house is usually a very filthy place. The floor is made of earth, fowls and cattle live with the family, and in addition to this there is often a horrible stench from putrifying flesh. The people sleep on planks, and for their bedding use a quilt made out of old clothes patched together. The houses of the wealthy men of the village are built on the same plan but are larger, and the planks in front are sometimes adorned with simple carvings. If the owner has performed a special *ghenna*, he is allowed to put up two curved beams in the front of the house, which meet over the roof tree in the form of horns, and are a conspicuous feature in an

Angami village. The houses of the other tribes differ to some extent from those of the Angamis, and are described at length in Mr. Davis' Monograph.

Economic condition of the people

Most of the Nagas have a sufficiency of food and clothing, but there is little accumulated capital, and some villages are said to experience difficulty in raising the very moderate revenue imposed on them. Apart from the cotton, chillies, and *pan* exported to Golaghat, there is nothing grown for sale, and cash is generally obtained by working for the Public Works Department, and occasionally on tea-gardens in the winter time. The cash expenditure of the people is, however, very small, and generally they seem fairly well-to-do. The following account is taken from the report of the Deputy Commissioner in 1901-02:—

"Rather than cultivate sufficient rice to supply their wants, the Kukis prefer to loaf, and to subsist towards the end of the season on jungle roots and plants. The Kacha Nagas are nearly as bad. One would think they would be glad to earn a little money by working on the bridle path, and doing cooly work, but this is not the case. They never lose an opportunity of trying to get out of doing the very small amount of cooly work which they are called upon to perform. The other tribes in the district, except the people of Tamlu, who are confirmed opium-eaters, are extremely industrious and hard-working, and withal light-hearted and good-tempered. It is pleasant to see them trudging up to their villages at dusk, singing and laughing after a long day's work. The Angamis particularly like good living and fine clothes, and do themselves as well as they can afford to. One is glad to think that their material prosperity has greatly increased since our advent to the district. I am told that in the old days a man with three *dhulis* of *dhan* in his house was considered wealthy. Now it is a common occurrence to find five or six *dhulis* in an ordinary house, while in wealthy houses there are many more.

Their lives being secure, they can cultivate at greater distances from their villages than formerly. Their cattle, too, are safe from hostile raids, and can be pastured on the best grazing grounds, however far from the village. Judging from the anxiety of tribes outside our border to be brought under our control, our rule appears to be popular among Nagas, and I think the older men enjoy the security of life and property which now obtains. It is, however, inevitable that the younger men should regret that the paths of glory are closed for them. The lot of a Naga under us is far from unhappy. As long as he pays his house-tax, takes his infrequent turn at cooly work, and refrains from quarrelling with or looting his neighbours, he lives in absolute peace. The civil police are confined to Kohima station and the cart road, and cannot enter a Naga village or take up a Naga case without special orders. There are no petty native officials to make their lives a burden to them. The simple rules for the administration of justice are suited to the people, their cases are enquired into by the Deputy Commissioner or his assistants personally, and their civil and petty criminal cases are decided according to their own customs. As a people they are neither insolent nor cringing, and if they think they are wronged by any order they will say so plainly. It is these qualities of frankness, cheerfulness, hospitality, and obedience which have endeared them to all those officers who have been stationed among them long enough to obtain a knowledge of them and their ways."

Communications.

The only cart road in the district is the section of the great road which runs from Neghereting on the Brahmaputra to Imphal the capital of Manipur. The opening of the Assam-Bengal Railway has rendered Dimapur to all intents and purposes the terminus of the road, and this is the point at which it enters the district of the Naga Hills. The first 8½ miles run through the Nambar forest to the foot of the hills at Nichuguard. Here it enters the beautiful gorge of the Diphupani, and the next bungalow is situated at Ghaspani (1,527 feet)

10 miles away. From Ghaspani to Piphima (8,018 feet) it is nine miles; from Piphima to Zubza (8,018 feet) nine miles, and from Zubza to Kohima (4,734 feet) 10½ miles. Eleven miles beyond Kohima there is a bungalow at Jakhama (5,504 feet), and the frontier of the district is reached at Mao Thana, nine miles further on. Four miles beyond Mao the summit of the pass is crossed at an elevation of 5,600 feet above the level of the sea, and from this point the road gradually descends to the fertile valley of Manipur. At each of the halting-places mentioned there is a comfortable and well-appointed staging bungalow in charge of a chaukidar. At present only about 14 miles of the road between Mao Thana and Dimapur are metalled, and the unmetalled portions become almost impassable for wheeled traffic during rainy weather.

Bridle paths.

The cart road crosses the district from west to east, and a bridle path runs right through it from south to north. Starting from Henima, where there is a rest-house, it is 76 miles to Kohima, rest-houses being maintained at Jossema, Lakema, Pedi, Yekwera and Khonoma on the 12th, 82nd, 42nd, 58rd. and 65th mile respectively from Henima. From Kohima the path runs through Wokha, Mokokchung and Tamlu, till it reaches the plains at Geleki in the extreme north of the district. The following is a list of the inspection bungalows situated along this road; the figure in brackets indicates the distance in miles of each from Kohima: Nerhama (18), Chichama (21), Themokidima (84), Kotsoma (42½), Wokha (52), Koio (60), Nungtang (71), Nankam (81), Mokokchung (91), Mongsemdi (106), Santong (119), Merangkhaug (127), Tamlu (185), and Geleki (151¾). Another bridle path goes

from Kohima eastwards to Cheswejuma (28½ miles) and is continued from that village for another 85 miles to Shitzu in the Sema country, where it joins the bridle path just described. The following inspection bungalows are maintained along this road; the figure in brackets represents the distance in miles of each from Kohima: Cheswejuma (23½), Satazuma (35¼), Zulhami (48½) Kilomi (52¼), Satakha (65¾), Ghukia (74¼), Emilomi (82¾), Auchakalimi (92¾), and Lumhami (101¾). From Wokha a path leads to the plains at Ghiladhari Jan. The total distance is 44¼ miles, and there are inspection bungalows at Yekum (9½ miles), Sonigaon (19¼ miles), Bhandari (33¼ miles), and Goronga Jan (45¾ miles) from Wokha. There is also a bridle path from Mokokchung to Charali in the Jorhat subdivision. The total distance is 47½ miles, and there are inspection bungalows at Chantia (8 miles), Cholemsen (20 miles), Lakhu (31½ miles), and Charali (48 miles) from Mokokchung.

Post and Telegraph. In 1904, there were post offices in the district at Kohima, Impur, Mokokchung, Nichuguard and Wokha. The office at Kohima is a combined post and telegraph office. Ninety-five thousand letters and post-cards were delivered from these offices in 1903-04. Eighty-three savings bank accounts were open in that year for a total value of Rs. 13,000. The mail is brought from Calcutta by the Assam-Bengal Railway to Manipur road station, and is carried thence along the Dimapur-Manipur cart road by runners past Nichuguard to Kohima and thence through Mao to Manipur. There are no post offices between Nichuguard and Kohima, but the traveller can post and receive letters from an "open bag" carried by

the runners. Mails are also carried from the Sibsagar district past Mokokchung to Impur, and from Kohima to Wokha. The open bag system is in force along the whole of the Dimapur-Manipur road. The time at present taken in transit is twelve hours from Dimapur to Kohima, and five hours from Kohima to Mao.

There is not much trade amongst the Nagas except in beads and shells. Each household produces practically all that it consumes, and there is no surplus for disposal. Some villages, however, make a speciality of pottery, others of spear heads, others of earthen pots or leaf waterproofs; cattle are reared for market in one place, dogs in another. Most of the business is transacted on a cash basis, and there is very little barter. The principal trading communities are Khonoma, Jotsoma, and Mozema, and men from these villages will go as far afield as Bombay, Calcutta, and Rangoon. A few years ago large profits were made by carrying beads through Manipur to Burma, where they sold for four or five times the amount that they had cost. The Burmese market is, however, getting overstocked, and prices are no longer what they were. There are no such things as village markets, and hardly any shops except in Kohima Bazar, and here and there along the cart road. There are altogether eighteen shops in Kohima, thirteen of which are kept by Marwari merchants, while one is a grocery and general store for the use of Europeans. The Marwaris deal in salt, oil, cloths, grain, umbrellas, thread, and the other articles which are usually to be found in a kaiya's shop; but the bulk of their customers are foreigners, and the Nagas only Trade.

come to them for salt, thread, and the brass wire from which they make their ornaments. The trade from Manipur passes along the cart road through the district, but, apart from this and the cotton of the Lhotas, there are very few goods exported from the hills. Though honest in their dealings with their fellow-villagers, the Nagas are ready enough to take advantage of the stranger. The Naga cotton is generally watered on the way to Golaghat, and Mr. Damant reported that, as far back as 1878, the Angamis tried to pass off silvered two-pice pieces as rupees, and to sell powdered charcoal as gunpowder to the less sophisticated villagers.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION.

Revenue—Excise—Public Works—Government—Criminal and civil justice —The Garrison—Civil Police—Jail—Education—Medical.

THE total revenue of the district is extremely small, **Revenue.** and the great bulk of it is derived from the house-tax, which is assessed in lieu of land revenue. Angamis pay Rs. 3 per house, other natives of the district Rs. 2, and foreigners Rs. 5. This tax is collected by the village headmen, who generally receive a commission of 12½ per cent for their trouble; but so democratic are the Nagas that the villagers often compel them to refund their commission as a rebate to the assessees. The receipts on account of income-tax are inconsiderable, and a large part of them are derived from the salaries paid to Government servants. Only one Naga was assessed in 1903-04. Details for the various heads of revenue will be found in Table VI. The Registration Act is not in force in the Naga Hills. Nagas are not required to pay court-fees in criminal cases, though in civil disputes the ordinary fees are levied from Angamis. Foreigners pay the usual fees both in criminal

and civil cases. The revenue raised under this head *is very small.*

Excise. The excise revenue of the district is very small. There are one opium shop, one ganja shop, and one country spirit shop at Kohima for the use of foreigners, but the Nagas do not take opium or ganja, and seldom care to waste their money on country spirit. The quantity of opium and ganja consumed and the receipts under each head of excise will be found in Table VIII. The Nagas are, however, great drinkers of rice beer, of which there are two brands, *zu* and *kezu.*

Both kinds are made from millet and job's-tears as well as from rice. *Zu* is a very nourishing and not unpalatable liquor which can be taken in large quantities without bad effects, but *kezu* is much stronger and comparatively soon brings on intoxication. A kind of gruel, called by foreigners *sakha modhu*, can, however, be prepared from *kezu* and is much in favour in the Ao and Sema country.

Public Works. All the bridle paths in the district with the inspection bungalows along them have, since 1908, been in charge of the Deputy Commissioner, with the exception of the short length from Kohima to Khonoma. Each village is held responsible for the section of the path that passes through its land. The villagers are required to clear the jungle twice a year and to dress the surface once, to clear all drains, and to remove all trees, stones, and earth falling on the road. For this they are paid at an average rate of about Rs. 30 per mile. The public buildings at Tessima, Wokha, and Mokokchung are also under the charge of the Deputy Commissioner,

with the exception of those occupied by the military police, which are maintained by the Commandant of the battalion. The Executive Engineer stationed at Kohima is in charge of the more important public works in the Naga Hills and Manipur. He is usually assisted by an Assistant Engineer and a staff of five upper and five lower subordinates. The principal work in charge of the department is the great Dimapur-Manipur mountain cart road to which reference has been already made in the section on communications. None of the public buildings in Kohima are of any size or importance. They were erected at a time when the cost of all building materials was very heavy, and to a great extent are made of corrugated iron.

For administrative purposes the district is divided into two subdivisions—Kohima and Mokokchung. The Deputy Commissioner is stationed at Kohima, and is allowed one assistant, who is generally a European. Mokokchung is usually entrusted to an Assistant Superintendent of Police. The duties of the Deputy Commissioner have been, and still are, mainly of a political character. **Government.**

The High Court of Fort William in Calcutta has no jurisdiction in the district, except on its criminal sides, over European British subjects: the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure are not in force, and the Deputy Commissioner is empowered to pass sentences of death and imprisonment up to the maximum amount provided for the offence. The death penalty and sentences of seven years' imprisonment or more require, however, the confirmation of the Chief Commissioner. Litigants may appeal to the Deputy **Criminal and Civil Justice.**

Commissioner from the decision of his assistant within sixteen days. No appeal lies as a matter of right from sentences of less than three years' imprisonment passed by the Deputy Commissioner, but all sentences in excess of that limit are appealable to the Chief Commissioner.

From Table V. it will be seen that there is not much litigation in the district. Assaults and thefts are the offences which are most common, but the old spirit of savagery occasionally breaks out, and the disputing parties decide to settle their quarrels by a stand-up fight. Lives are not unfrequently lost in these riots, but homicides of this character are far less objectionable than the murders which are still occasionally committed from the simple lust of killing. In 1896, a Garo chaukidar, his wife a Nagini, their baby, and another Naga were murdered within fifteen miles of Kohima, from the sheer joy of slaughter; and head-taking is still in full swing on the eastern side of the Dikho. In 1900, when the Deputy Commissioner was touring in these hills he was informed that the village of Yajim had recently raided Kamahu, and had taken sixty heads, most of which had belonged to defenceless women and children. The gallant head-hunter avoids as far as possible all risk of opposition, and much prefers to take the head of an unarmed child to killing a full-grown man in open combat.

The rules provide for the trial of petty cases by the village elders, but most of the Naga villages are very democratic in their institutions, and there are few people of sufficient weight and influence to be able to enforce obedience from an unsuccessful litigant. A Naga trial

is rather a curious spectacle. The two parties stand before the seat of justice, separated by one or more interpreters, with whom they engage in the most animated converse. The proceedings are generally of a very friendly nature, and if one of the parties can be induced to swear to anything, the other side are generally prepared to accept the statement sworn to as correct. The administration of the oath is, however, a very solemn business. The juror unties the little tag of hair at the back of his head, and the spectators all take care to see that his cloth is worn the right side up and his shoulder bare, as the neglect of these formalities would render it possible for him to indulge in perjury with impunity. The juror states his case at length and swears that this statement is correct, praying that, if he lies, both he and all his family may come to a speedy and a violent end. The by-standers listen with the greatest of attention, and are quick to detect and object to any variation in the form of oath which custom has prescribed. Once the oath has been duly sworn the other party departs completely satisfied. At first sight it seems strange that such cases should not be settled out of court, but it is said that if the dispute is decided in the village, there is risk of the parties coming to blows; and with people whose natural instincts are of so bloodthirsty a character, blows soon develop into murderous affrays. The case, too, if decided in cutcherry, receives the sanction of Government, the only authority for which the Nagas have very much respect, and the order passed forms part of a permanent record with regard to which there is no room for

dispute. Civil litigation is, of course, not heavy, and in 1903, only 195 civil suits were filed. One suit was valued at nearly Rs. 14,000, but the average value of the remainder was only Rs. 75.

he Garrison. The garrison of the district consists of two companies of a Native Infantry regiment stationed at Kohima, and a battalion of military police, which has a strength of 14 officers and 657 non-commissioned officers and men. The battalion is armed with Martini Henry rifles, Mark IV, kukris, and bayonets. The headquarters of the battalion are at Kohima, and its strength is not dissipated over many outposts. At the extreme west of the district Henima is held by a native officer and 25 rifles. A native officer and 25 men are stationed on the top of the hill on which the turbulent village of Khonoma is built, eleven miles by road from Kohima. At the headquarters of the Mokokchung subdivision there are two native officers and 107 rifles, and a native officer and 50 men at Tamlu in the extreme east of the district. The battalion served with distinction in the Naga Hills expedition of 1879-80, the disturbances in Manipur in 1891, and the Abor expedition of 1894.

vil Police. The civil police consists of 29 head constables and men, under a sub-inspector. There is a police station at Kohima, with outposts along the cart road at Nichuguard, Piphima, Zubza, Birreru, and Viswema. The civil police are chiefly concerned with the supervision of the traffic on the cart road, and are not allowed to enter a Naga village or take up a Naga case except under special orders from the Deputy Commissioner.

Jail. The only jail in the district is situated at Kohima,

It consists of a few small buildings with roof and walls of corrugated iron surrounded by a bamboo palisade. It contains accommodation for twenty-four convicts, and ten sick and under-trial prisoners. Convicts sentenced to hard labour are employed in the garden or on the station roads, or at the oil mill.

Education. Education has as yet made little progress in the hills. There is a middle English school at Kohima which, in 1903-04, had a daily average attendance of seventy-seven boys, but not more than nine or ten were the sons of natives of the district. On March 31st, 1904, there were six lower primary schools maintained by Government, at Mokokchung, Wokha, Henima, Khonoma, Jakhama, and Cheswejuma, which had altogether a daily average attendance of one hundred and ten pupils, and sixteen Mission schools* which receive grants-in-aid from Government. There are also two training schools at Kohima and Impur. Arrangements have recently been made to teach the Angamis and Aos to read and write their own language in the English character, as the Naga has no written character of its own. This marks a great advance on the former system under which boys were taught to read and write in Assamese, but it is at present subject to the drawback that there are very few printed books in Ao or Angami. Naga boys have accordingly to be taught to read from the Gospel according to St. John, or the Acts of the Apostles, which must be rather strong meat for these wild and savage babes.

* Situated at Molung, Yagong, Siramen, Waromaken Myrang Kong Akoia, Asangma, Waramung, Chilemsen, Jauki, Mang natoung, Nam sam, Ungma, Lunges Lungpa, and Longsang.

There were altogether 571 boys and 76 girls at school in 1903-04, or 4 per cent. of the children of school-going age, but the Nagas have not yet learned the advantages of education, and a certain amount of judicious pressure is required to induce them to send their children to be taught.

Medical. The district is in the charge of a Civil Surgeon, and contains two hospitals, situated at Kohima (ten beds), and Wokha (four beds), and one dispensary at Mokokchung. Vital statistics are only recorded at Kohima, so that there is no detailed information available with regard to the mortuary statistics of the people. Malarial fever and lung affections are probably responsible for a considerable proportion of the total casualties, and epidemics of measles and influenza occasionally claim a long tale of victims. Dysentery and cholera sometimes appear amongst the lower villages, but cholera is fortunately comparatively rare. The hillmen have a wholesome dread of infection, and do not scruple to evacuate a village if the circumstances are sufficiently serious to warrant such a measure. The following description of the conduct of the Samaguting Nagas when confronted by a single case of small-pox is taken from a report by Mr. Carnegy in 1877* :—

The disease was treated as a personal enemy, and the village abandoned as would have been done before the coming of an invader too powerful to resist. The men were all fully armed, and the women and children were surrounded, and then all started forth at best pace; they kept away a month, and then returned with the same precautions as when leaving, approaching very cautiously with shields

* No. 59, dated 1st May, 1877.

well to the front, and peeping round every corner before a further advance until gradually the whole village was occupied.

When they fairly satisfied themselves that no one but the Kuki had been ill, they were rather ashamed of running away; but it was not until some time after when they saw him going about, very little the worse in appearance, that the idea that he had been burnt alive was abandoned. Before, nothing would persuade them this had not been done, it being looked upon as merely a wise precautionary measure for which we deserved credit.

Their fears are apparently still strong, but they take the more sensible precaution of submitting to the process of vaccination. During the five years ending with 1902-03, seventy-six per mille of the population were successfully vaccinated every year; a proportion that was higher than that reported from any district in the Province except the Garo Hills. Nothing could well exceed the dirt of the Naga villages and houses, and were it not for the very sanitary character of the site, they could hardly fail to become veritable hot-beds of disease. But they are generally built on the very summits of the hills, and there are no fruit trees or bamboo jungle to deprive them of the purifying influences of the sun and air. The people, too, have the sense to wrap up warmly in the cold weather, a sensible precaution which saves them no doubt from many chills. In the absence of all statistics it is difficult to say whether the death rate is high or not. The Nagas do not increase rapidly in numbers, but this may possibly be due more to a low birth rate than to a high mortality.

Venereal diseases are not very prevalent amongst the Angamis, but are unfortunately common in the Ao country, and their dissemination is facilitated by the

customs of the people. In 1903, there were more cases of primary and secondary syphilis treated at the Kohima and Mokokchung dispensaries than at any other two dispensaries in the Province. In 1904 the proportion of the population treated in the district dispensaries for syphilis was ten times greater than the proportion in the Province as a whole.

LIST OF TABLES.

APPENDIX A.—Flora.

The following account of the flora of the Naga Hills has been received from the Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta:—

"The Flora of the Naga Hills closely resembles that of Sikhim up to the same altitude. Below 2,000 feet the low-level jungle consists mostly of plants belonging to such genera as *Pterospermum, Columbia, Gynandropsis, Clansena, Erythropalum, Lepionurus, Cardiopteris, Lophopetalum, Vitis, Leea, Uraria, Alysicarpus, Desmodium, Pac, Dalbergia, Bauhinia, Sonerila, Ammannia, Modecca, Trichosanthes, Momordica, Cucumis, Melothria, Tpludiantha, Gynostemma, Begonia, Aralia, Brassidopsis, Heydyotis, Polyura, Psychotria, Paederia, Ardisia, Pentasacine, Cynanchum, Mitreola, Argyreia, Porana, Solanum, Lindenbergia, Lysionotus, Didymocarpus, Stauranthera, Thunbergia, Barleria, Eranthemum, Orthosiphon, Chloranthus, Hedychium, Hitchenia, Zingiber, Tacca, Dracaena, Commelinaceæ, Adiantum, Pteris, Nephrodium, Aerostichum.* The slopes from 2,000 feet to about 5,000 feet are chiefly under rice cultivation. From 5,000 feet to about 8,000 feet the vegetation is composed for the most part of plants belonging to the genera, *Clematis, Thalictrum, Michelia, Stephania, Berberis, Viola, Polygala, Cuenbalus, Hypericum, Sauruja, Eurya, Schima, Geranium, Toddalia, Euonymus, Gonania, Acer, Prunus, Spiraea, Rubus, Pyrus, Photinia, Sedum, Circaea, Passiflora, Hydrocotyle, Sanicula, Bupleurum, Pimpinella, Heptapleurum, Viburnum, Ophiorrhiza, Anaphalis, Senecio, Cuicus, Lactuca, Campanula, Vaccinium, Lysimachia, Crawfurdia, Swertia, Scrophularia, Pedicularis, Elsholtzia, Polygonum, Litsaea, Lindera, Pilea, Elatostemma, Betula, Alnus, Quercus, Pinus, Smilax, Carex, Arundo, Arundinella, Brachypodium, Hymenophyllum, Davallia, Pteris, Aspidium, Polypodium, Osmunda. Equisetum.* Above 8,000 feet occur such plants as *Aconitum, Skimmia, Ilex, Acer, Spiraea, Rubus, Cotoneaster, Sedum, Epilobium. Vicatia, Pimpinella, Gamblea, Senecio, Ainsliaea, Cyananthus, Vaccinium, Gaultheria, Rhododendron, Pedicularis, Quercus, Cephalotaxus, Juncus, Deycuxia, Lomaria, Polypodium.*"

For further information see (1) Mr. C. B. Clarke's Botanical observations made in a journey to the Naga Hills, Journal of the Linnean Society, Volume XXII, page 128, and (2) a paper on the Plants of Kohima and Manipur by the same author in the Journal of the Linnean Society, Volume XXV, page 1.

TABLE I.

Rainfall.

The number of years for which the average has been calculated is shewn below the name of each station.

MONTHS.	AVERAGE RAINFALL IN INCHES.		
	Kohima (22 years.)	Wokha (16 years.	Mokokchung (11 years.)
January	0·68	1·07	0·81
February	1·15	1·85	2·00
March	2 69	3·69	4·73
April	3·96	7·76	9·31
May ...	5·79	9·80	10·55
June	13·86	17·49	17·09
July	16·69	21 36	19·70
August	14 96	20 79	17·02
September	10 64	12·47	8·92
October ...	3·71	4·90	4·13
November ...	1 10	1·27	0·97
December ...	0·43	0·38	0·66
Total of year	75·85	102·83	95·88

Table II.

General Statistics of Population.

Particulars.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Population—			
1901	102,402	51,656	50,746
1891	96,637	49,084	47,553
1881	95,570	45,446	47,124
1872	71,021	35,510	35,511
Variations—			
1891—1901	+ 5,765	+ 2,572	+ 3,193
1881—1891	+ 1,067	+ 638	+ 429
1872—1881	+ 24,549	+ 12,936	11,613
1901.			
Religion—			
Hindus	3,351	2,407	944
Muhammadans	142	106	36
Animistic	97 948	48,597	49,351
Total Christians	601	297	304
Baptists	563	272	291
Other Religions	360	249	111
Civil condition—			
Unmarried	46,327	25,202	21,125
Married	44,195	22,504	21,691
Widowed	11,880	3,950	7,930
Literacy—			
Literate in Bengali	210	178	32
Literate in English	153	143	10
Illiterate	101,022	50,348	50,674
Languages spoken—			
Angami	27,855	13,970	13,885
Ao Chungli or Zungi	17,623	8,376	9,247
Ao Mongsen	10,512	5,018	5,494
Lhota	16,962	8,933	8,029
Kachcha Naga	6,296	3,255	3,041
Sema	5,830	2,622	3,208

Table III.

Birth-place, Race, Caste and Occupation.

Particulars.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Birth-place—			
Born in district	96,385	48,175	48,160
„ other parts of Province ...	3,852	1,750	2,102
„ Bengal	394	292	102
„ United Provinces	201	159	42
„ Nepal	1 367	1,059	308
„ Elsewhere ...	253	221	32
Race and Caste—			
European (a) ..	22	18	4
Naga (Angami)	27,506	14,168	13,338
Naga (Ao)	26.753	12,963	13,790
Naga (Kachcha)	6,559	3,643	2,916
Naga (Lhota)	19.257	9,024	10,233
Naga (Rengma)	4.170	2,116	2,054
Naga (Sema)	4,668	2,457	2,211
Occupation—			
Workers	69,240	35 046	34.194
Dependents	33,162	...	...
Total Supported—			
Jhum Cultivators	92,327	45.835	46,492

(a) Includes allied races.

Table IV.

Prices of food staples in seers obtainable per rupee.

			Kohima.	
		Common rice.	Salt.	Matikalai.
1899	2nd week of February	10	4	5
	2nd week of August	8	4½	5
1900	2nd week of February	13	4½	5½
	2nd week of August	...	4½	6
1901	2nd week of February	...	5½	7
	2nd week of August	14	6	8
1902	2nd week of February	16	7	10
	2nd week of August	14	6	10
1903	2nd week of February	..	7	10
	2nd week of August	11½	7½	9
1904	2nd week of February	16	8	8
	2nd week of August	12½	6	6
1905	2nd week of February	18	8	8
	2nd week of August			
1906	2nd week of February			
	2nd week of August			
1907	2nd week of February			
	2nd week of August			
1908	2nd week of February			
	2nd week of August			
1909	2nd week of February			
	2nd week of August			
1910	2nd week of February			
	2nd week of August			
1911	2nd week of February			
	2nd week of August			
1912	2nd week of February			
	2nd week of August			

Table V.

Statistics of Criminal and Civil Justice.

Heads of Crime.	1902 True	1902 Detected.	1903 True	1903 Detected	1904 True.	1904 Detected	1905 True.	1905 Detected	1906 True.	1906 Detected.	1907 True	1907 Detected.	1908 True.	1908 Detected.	1909 True.	1909 Detected.	1910 True.	1910 Detected	1911 True.	1911 Detected	1912 True.	1912 Detected.
CRIMINAL JUSTICE.																						
Number of Cases.																						
(I). Rioting or unlawful assembly. Sec. 143-153, 157, 158 & 159	1	..	3	1	.	.																
(II). Other offences against the State, public tranquillity, &c.	4	4	..		1	1																
(III). Murder, attempt at murder and culpable homicide. Sec. 302-304, 307, 308 & 306	...	..	2	2	1	.																
(IV) Grievous hurt and hurt by dangerous weapon. Sec. 324-326, 329, 331, 333 & 335 ...	4	2	2	2	4	2																
(V). Serious criminal force, Sec. 353, 354, 356 & 357	.		1	.	1	1																
Carried over .	9	6	8	5	7	4																

Statistics of Criminal and Civil Justice.—contd.

Heads of Crime.	1902 True.	1902 Detected.	1903 True.	1903 Detected.	1904 True.	1904 Detected.	1905 True	1905 Detected.	1906 True.	1906 Detected.	1907 True.	1907 Detected	1908 True.	1908 Detected.	1909 True.	1909 Detected.	1910 True.	1910 Detected.	1911 True.	1911 Detected.	1912 True.	1912 Detected.
Brought forward ..	9	6	8	5	7	4																
(VI). Other serious offences against the person	1	1	...	..	1	1																
(VII). Dacoity. Sec. 395, 397 & 398 ..	...	...	..	..	...	.																
(VIII). Serious mischief, including mischief by killing, poisoning, or maiming any animal. Sec. 270, 281, 282, 428, 429, 430-433 & 435-440	...	..	...	...	3	2																
(IX). House-breaking and serious house trespass. Sec. 449-452, 454, 455 & 457-460 .	3	2	8	2	1	...																
(X). Wrongful restraint and confinement Sec. 341-344 ..	..	...	..	...	1	1																
(XI). Other serious offences against the person and property or against the property ...	...	..		...	1	1																
(XII). Theft. Sec 379 & 382	28	11	29	12	32	18																

(XIII). Receiving stolen property. Sec. 411 & 414	2	1	4	2	1	1
(XIV). Lurking and criminal house trespass. Sec. 453, 456, 447 & 448	.		1	1	2	1
(XV). Other minor offences against property	7	5	2	2	1	...
TOTAL ...	50	26	52	24	50	29
CIVIL JUSTICE						
Suits for money and moveables ..	221		194		106	
Title and other suits	.				..	
Rent suits ...	..		...		..	
TOTAL ...	221		104		106	

TABLE VI.

Finance.—Receipts.

PRINCIPAL HEADS.	1890-91	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Land revenue (ordinary) ...	1,557	10	10	10	10								
„ „ (miscellaneous)	48,428	59,70 8	60,558	59,944	64,650								
Judicial stamps ..	826	1,376	1,399	2 289	2,439								
Non-Judicial stamps ...	239	282	314	310	361								
Opium	6,916	2,263	2,178	2,208	3,306								
Country spirits ...	750	556	420	1,163	1,142								
Ganja	517	441	706	749	687								
Other heads of Excise ...	263	880	543	568	769								
Assessed taxes ...	2,308	2,834	2,349	2,125	2,176								
No. of assessees per 1,000 ...	1	1	1	...	...								
TOTAL ..	61 804	68,350	68,477	69,366	75,540								

TABLE VII.

Miscellaneous Land Revenue.—Receipts.

PARTICULARS.	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
KOHIMA SUBDIVISION.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs.
House tax ..	40,888	4[illegible],443	42,112	33,893								
Total revenue ...	41,610	42,03[illegible]	42,112	34,837								
MOKOKCHUNG SUBDIVISION.												
House tax ...	18,096	18,520	17,832	21,820								
Total revenue ..	18,098	18,520	17,834	29,813								
TOTAL DISTRICT.												
House tax ...	58,984	59,963	59,944	57,713								
Other heads ..	724	595	.	6,937*								
Total revenue ...	59,708	60,558	59,944	64,650								

* Includes revenue from elephant mahals and royalty on elephants (Rs. 5,600).

TABLE VIII.

Excise.

Principal Heads.	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
No. of opium shops ...	1	1	1	1								
Amount paid for licenses ...	Rs. 1,095	Rs. 810	Rs. 1,011	Rs. 1,311								
Opium issued ...	m. s. ch. 1 1 0	m. s. ch. 1 8 0	m. s. ch. 1 2 0	m. s. ch. 1 30 0								
Duty on opium sold ...	Rs. 1 168	Rs. 1,368	Rs. 1.197	Rs. 1,995								
No. of ganja shops ...	1	1	1	1								
Amount paid for licenses ...	Rs. 306	Rs. 364	Rs. 380	Rs. 354								
Amount of ganja issued ...	m. s. ch. 0 16 0	m. s. ch. 0 38 0	m. s. ch. 1 1 0	m. s. ch. 0 35 0								
Duty on ganja sold ...	Rs. 135	Rs 342	Rs. 369	Rs 333								
No. of country spirit shops ...	1	1	1	1								
Amount paid for licenses ...	Rs. 556	Rs. 420	Rs. 1,163	Rs. 1,142								
Other heads of Excise revenue ...	880	543	563	769								

TABLE IX.

The Strength of the Police Force.

PARTICULARS.		1891	1901.
CIVIL POLICE.			
Supervising Staff			
District and Assistant Superintendents	..	...	1
Inspectors	...	...	...
SUBORDINATE STAFF.			
Sub-Inspectors	..	1	1
Head Constables	..	2	3
Constables		11	26
MILITARY POLICE.			
Officers	.	71*	72
Men	.	569*	596
Total expenditure	Rs.	1,62,084	1,94,214

In 1881 there were only Frontier police and no Civil police.

* Actual strength.

TABLE X.

Police Station and Outposts.

NAMES OF POLICE STATION AND OUTPOST.	SANCTIONED STRENGTH IN 1904			
	Sub-Inspectors	Head Constables.	Constables	Total.
Kohima P. S.	...	2	16	19
Nichuguard O. P.	...	1	10	11
Piphima Road Post	...	..	3	3
Virera Road Post	..	..	2	2
Viswema Road Post	...	..	3	3
Zubza Road Post		...	3	3

Table XI.

Outposts held by the Naga Hills military police battalion.

Name.	Distance from Headquarters.	Strength.	
		Officers.	Men.
Tamlu	136 miles	1	50
Mokokchung	53 ,,	1	100
Henima	76 ,,	1	25
Khonoma	11 ,,	1	25
Tessima	7 ,,	...	3

Table XII.

Kohima Subsidiary Jail.

		1891	1901
Average daily population	Male	17	20
	Female	...	...
Rate of jail mortality per 1,000 ...		..	...
		Rs.	Rs.
Expenditure on jail maintenance ..		2,693	1,013
Cost per prisoner* (excluding civil prisoners)		68	22
Profits on jail manufacture ...		...	1.343
Earnings per prisoner† .		...	71

* On rations and clothing only.
† Calculated on the average number sentenced to labour.

Table XIII.

Educational Finance.

Particulars.	No. of institutions.	Expenditure on institutions maintained or aided by public funds in 1900-01 from: Provincial Revenues.	Fees.	Other sources.	Total.	Expenditure per scholar.		
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	As	P.
Training and Special School	1	28	...	957	985	25	4	1
Middle English Schools ..	1	1,649	207	...	1,856	23	11	4
Lower Primary School ...	16	1,620	...	...	1,620	8	2	3
Total	18	3,297	207	957	4,461	14	1	10

TABLE XIV.

Education

	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS—												
Number	1	1	1									
" of boys reading in middle school classes	6	5	6									
" of boys reading in primary classes	73	60	81									
LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOLS—												
Number.. . ..	16	16	22									
" of boys reading in three upper classes	154 (a)	180 (a)	78									
" of boys reading in lower classes			53									
FEMALE EDUCATION—												
Number of pupils in—												
Middle English Schools ...	5	2	1									
" Vernacular Schools .	...	..	..									
Upper Primary Schools ...	...	..	...									
Lower Primary Schools ..	46	41	27									

(a) Separate figures not available.

Table XV.

Medical.

Particulars.	Kohima Subdivision.			Mokokchung Subdivision.		Total District.		
	1881	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1881.	1891.	1901.
Number of dispensaries	1	3	2	1	1	1	4	3
Daily average number of in-door patients	16·18	7·34	13·60	...	...	16·18	7·34	13·60
" " " out-door " ...	30·36	15·20	36·87	5·76	23·18	30 36	20·96	60·05
Cases treated	1,081	4,275	10,651	1,274	5,859	1,081	5,549	16,510
Operations performed	11	121	119	27	42	11	148	161
Total Income	Rs. 3,024	Rs. 4,256	Rs. 4,009	Rs. 304	Rs. 699	Rs. 3,024	Rs. 4,560	Rs. 4,708
Income from Government	2,959	3,724	3,556	304	699	2,959	4,028	4,255
Subscriptions	...	434	249	...	...	...	434	249
Total expenditure	3,024	4,201	3,987	304	699	3,024	4,505	4,686
Expenditure on Establishment ...	1,358	2,004	1,776	...	334	1,358	2,004	2,110
Ratio per mille of persons successfully vaccinated		Not available				(a) 2	19	123
Cost per case		Do.				...	Rs. A. P. 0-3-11	Rs. A. P. 0-1-9

(a) Figure for 1881-82.

TABLE XVI.

Dispensaries.

Names of Dispensaries.	1900 Total cost.	1900 Cases treated	1901 Total cost.	1901 Cases treated.	1902 Total cost.	1902 Cases treated.	1903 Total cost.	1903 Cases treated	1904 Total cost.	1904 Cases treated.	1905 Total cost.	1905 Cases treated.
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
Kohima	3,3[illegible]7	6,519	3,512	6 733	4,341	7,444	3,917	11,430	3,772	10,148		
Mokokchung	420	4,648	609	5,859	952	4,600	852	5,375	662	5,870		
Wokha ...	354	3,506	474	3,918	520	6,116	617	5,043	615	4,343		

Names of Dispensaries.	1906 Total cost	1906 Cases treated	1907 Total cost.	1907 Cases treated.	1908 Total cost.	1908 Cases treated.	1909 Total cost	1909 Cases treated.	1910 Total cost.	1910 Cases treated	1911 Total cost	1911 Cases. treated.	1912 Total cost.	1912 Cases treated.
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
Kohima														
Mokokchung														
Wokha ..														

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PART II.

MANIPUR.

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CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

Area and boundaries—Mountain system—Rivers—Lakes and Jhils—General appearance of the valley—Climate and rainfall—Earthquakes—Wild animals.

THE Native State of Manipur is situated between 23° 50′ and 25° 41′ N. and 93° 2′ and 94° 47′ E. and covers an area of 8,456 square miles On the north it is bounded by the British district of the Naga Hills, on the west by Cachar, on the south by the Lushai Hills and Burma, and on the east by Burma. **Area and boundaries.**

The greater part of the State consists of ranges of hills whose general trend is north and south. Towards the east the direction of the upthrust is not so well defined, and the country lying between Manipur and the Kubo Valley consists of a tumbled mass of hills, with a general tendency to run east and west. In the centre of the State is the valley of Manipur, which is about 80 miles in length and 20 in breadth. Lines of low hills, which crop up here and there above the alluvium, suggest that the formation of the valley was originally much the same as that of the surrounding hills, and

that it consisted of two or more chains of mountains running north and south, with deep valleys in between. These ranges were, however, considerably lower than those that now surround them. It has generally been thought by most observers that the Manipur Valley was originally a lake. This theory was, however, rejected by Mr. R. D. Oldham of the Geological Survey Department, who pointed out that, had it been correct, there would have been the remains of terraces formed by the cutting down of the outlet.*

Mountain system.

The following list of the hill ranges of Manipur is taken from the *Gazetteer* by Captain Dun. The ranges on the west are—(1) Nunjaibong; (2) Kalanaga; (3) Chakka-Nungba; (4) Kaupum (really only a spur from the Laimatol); (5) Kopru-Laimatol. On the north—(1) The Kunho spurs; (2) Thumion-Mayang-Khang; (3) Laisom; (4) Sirohifara. On the east—(1) Sarameti or Ching-angauba; (2) Somra; (3) Kassom; (4) Nupitel or Mapethe; (5) Yomadung. On the south—(1) Haobi.

The greatest altitude is attained in the extreme north, where Mao thana is overhung by a peak nearly 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. The hills run, as a rule, in irregular serrated ridges, rising here and there into peaks; but west of the valley assume a more open and rolling character. Between Cachar and Manipur, they are covered with dense evergreen forests and bamboo jungle. In the country to the west pine trees are common; but round the valley itself, and along

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* Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XIX, Part 4, p. 21.

the Kohima road there is comparatively little tree growth, and the sides of the hills are, for the most part, covered with grass. The ranges are, as a rule, composed of soft grey shale, which is very liable to slip when exposed to the action of the rain and air. The slope is fairly easy till near the summit, which is often rocky and precipitous.

The rivers of the valley take their rise in the hills towards the north. On the east is the Thobal, which rises in the hills not far from Ukrul. West of the Thobal is the Iril, which rises about fifteen miles east of Maram, and, after skirting the town of Imphal, falls, like the Thobal, into the Imphal river. Through the capital itself flow the Imphal and the Nambol. The last-named river falls into the Loktak, from which it emerges under the name of Kortak. This stream eventually joins the Imphal, and another river called Nambol, which rises near Kangjupkul and flows to the west of Imphal and the Loktak. Their united waters, which are known as the Achauba, Imphal, or Manipur river, finally fall into the Kendat and thus into the Chindwin. In the hills these rivers are bright and sparkling streams, flowing along over their rocky beds, but in the valley they assume the disagreeable characteristics often found in the rivers that traverse an alluvial plain. In the cold weather they are shallow muddy streams, creeping along at the bottom of the deep channels which they have cut through the alluvium, but in times of flood they rise to a considerable height and sometimes overtop their banks. In the dry season they are only navigable by canoes, and, though in the rains there is a **Rivers.**

considerable depth of water, country boats of a larger size are quite unknown. Attempts were made to introduce them after 1891, but they were not received with favour, and the Manipuris evidently find their small canoes sufficient for the short journeys they perform.

Hill rivers. In the eastern hills there are numerous small streams which drain into the Yu and thence into the Chindwin. They flow through deep valleys, and are liable to sudden floods which render them difficult to cross, but only one of them, the Maglang, has any depth of water in the the winter. The principal rivers in the western hills are the Barak and its tributary the Irang. The Barak rises about ten miles east of Mao thana, and flows a westerly course as far as Kairong, where it crosses the Manipur-Kohima cart-road. Here it takes a bend towards the north, and then turns westward, till it reaches the north-west corner of the State. The river then curves away towards the south, and flows the whole way to Tipaimukh, which till lately was the tri-junction point of Manipur, Cachar and the Lushai Hills, along the eastern side of the last main range of hills which separates Cachar from Manipur. At Tipaimukh the Barak turns sharply to the north, and, as far as Jirighat, flows almost parallel with, though in the opposite direction to, the section of the river that lies between Kalanaga and Tipaimukh. In this portion of its course it forms the boundary between Cachar and Manipur, but at Jirighat it turns again to the west, and, after a tortuous course through the districts of Cachar and Sylhet, falls into the old bed of the Brahmaputra near Bhairab bazar. The principal

tributary of the Barak is the Irang, which rises a little to the west of Kairong, and falls into it about 20 miles north of Tipaimukh. Two other rivers of some importance, crossed by the traveller from Cachar to Manipur, are the Jiri, which for a considerable distance forms the western boundary of the State, and the Makru. None of the other streams that flow along the valleys and carry off the drainage of the slopes on either side are of sufficient size to merit special mention. In the dry season the hill rivers consist, as a rule, of still deep pools linked together by shallow rocky reaches. In the rains they are liable to sudden freshets, and, though there is no very great depth of water in the river, the current is extremely swift and strong. The Barak at Kairong only contains a few inches of water in the cold weather, but, during the rains, carts used sometimes to be detained for several days till the subsidence of the flood.

The Loktak Lake.

The Loktak is the largest sheet of water in the Province of Assam, and is said to be eight miles long and five miles wide at the broadest part.* It is a broad, shallow, sheet of water, and is just such a pool as is left in a saucer-like depression when a marsh dries up. Viewed from above, the appearance of the Loktak is distinctly tame, and there is nothing romantic or picturesque in its surroundings. Ordinary water meadows, destitute alike of reeds and trees, gradually merge into a shallow

* The size of the Loktak varies considerably according to the season of the year, and the lake is said to be gradually shrinking. The absence of any very reliable maps of Manipur renders it impossible to give its dimensions with accuracy.

mere. On the western side there are the remains of a row of hills, whose bases have evidently been submerged beneath the alluvium, and whose summits now form steep and precipitous islands. The largest of these is called Tanga, and is a place to which criminals used occasionally to be deported in the days of native rule. Here and there on the broad surface of the lake are floating islets, formed from the matted roots of aquatic plants. Some of the larger ones are used as camping places by the fisher folk, who build their huts there, though the island rocks at each step and the water oozes up in each footprint. But, like the margin of the lake, they are destitute of any growth of reeds, and this absence of anything to break the even level of the view deprives the Loktak of any claim to beauty.

ther Jhils.

Dotted about the valley are numerous *jhils* which only differ from the Loktak in point of size and depth. Many of them, in fact, dry up completely in the winter time, or only contain a few pools in the lowest levels. The Lumphel and Tayel *jhils* near Imphal are valuable as grazing grounds. The Waithou Shorien, the Waithou Phoomnaw, the Ekope, Kajipat, and Poomlen *jhils* are sold for considerable sums as fisheries. These, however, are but a few of the most important marshes in the valley, and, during the rainy season, there are probably between sixty and seventy sheets of water, some small, some large, but all alike possessed of the prevailing characteristics.

eneral appearance of the valley.

The traveller who enters Manipur by the Cachar road obtains a magnificent view of the valley from the summit of the Laimatol hill. For several days his path

has lain across range after range of mountains, covered with forest so dense that it is seldom that he can see as much as a quarter of a mile before him. Suddenly all is changed. The eastern face of the hill, as it slopes before him to the valley, is covered with short grass, and rolling downs take the place of the dense tropical forest that lies concealed on the western side of the ridge. The valley lies before him like a map. At the northern end, some twenty miles away, are the dark-green groves that conceal the town of Imphal. Elsewhere are level rice fields, and land covered with grass, about which are dotted the clumps of trees that mark the villages. These villages are much more scattered than they are in the densely populated portions of Assam. They do not stretch in one long continuous line, but stand out here and there, clear and well defined, and there is many a square mile of land without a trace of human habitation. Low ridges of hills stand up above the alluvium, and sheets of water gleam in the shallow depressions on the plain. To the south, the Loktak sparkles in the sun, and on every side the view is bounded by hills. But, unlike the mountains that shut in the two great valleys of Assam, they are almost destitute of trees, and nowhere in the valley is there that rank growth of vegetation which is so distinguishing a characteristic of the British Province.

Climate and Rainfall.

Lying as it does at an elevation of 2,600 feet above the level of the sea, the climate of the valley is generally cool and pleasant. No records of temperature are kept, but it is said that at the hottest season of the year the thermometer in the residency seldom rises above 83°

Fahrenheit.* The average rainfall at Imphal is about 70 inches in the year, but it is much more variable than is usual in Assam. In 1896-97, it was 57 inches, while in 1899-1900, it was over 100. The rainfall in the same year at Ukrul, about 85 miles north-east of Imphal and about 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, was only 68 inches. About half the rain falls in the three months June to August, and the spring rains are not so heavy as in many places in Assam. The average rainfall recorded in each month will be found in Table I.

The prevailing winds are from the south and west. Storms and destructive cyclones are far from common, but, at Moirang, a special puja is performed each year with the object of warding off calamities of this kind. The village at this time does a regular Naga *ghenna*, and for five days no one is allowed to enter or leave its precincts.

Earthquakes. On January 10th, 1869, a severe shock of earthquake was felt at Manipur. The Raja's house, which was built of brick, collapsed, killing four persons and wounding several more. The upper story of the residency subsided, the treasury was levelled with the ground, and numerous other buildings wrecked. The ground opened and sand and mud were spouted forth, and the beds of the rivers were choked by the *debris* which fell into them.† The only persons in the State, who were known to have been killed by the earthquake, were the four who were buried in the ruins of the Raja's palace. The

* Colonel Johnstone reports that the highest and lowest shade temperature recorded by him were 92° and 30°.

† Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XIX. Part I, p. 20

great earthquake of June 12th, 1897, was distinctly felt. The ground rocked, trees waved to and fro as though exposed to a storm, and the houses swayed. The actual damage done was, however, insignificant, and, in the opinion of the Political Agent, the shock was not strong enough to injure any well-built building.

Wild animals. The larger kinds of fauna are not nearly so numerous as in the Brahmaputra Valley, in spite of the fact that a great portion of the State is very sparsely peopled. Elephants are found, but are by no means common. The bison or mithun (*bos gaurus*) is occasionally seen, but wild buffalo are quite unknown. Of deer there are several varieties: the sambar (*cervus unicolor*), the barasingha (*cervus duvauceli*), the hog deer, (*cervus porcinus*), the barking deer (*cervulus muntjac*) and the Manipuri deer or *sangnai* (*cervus eldi*), which is found not only in Manipur but in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia, and Hainan. Stags of the latter variety stand about 45 inches at the shoulder, and are fawn-coloured in summer and of a darker hue in winter; does are a little smaller and of a fairer colour. The horns have an extremely long curved brow-antler, joining the beam in such a manner that the two form one continuous curve at right angles to the pedicel. The beam is unbranched for a considerable distance, generally more than half the length, and curved backwards, then outwards, and lastly forwards; towards the end it bears a number of small points. These deer are no longer common, and are generally to be found in swampy ground.

Leopards are fairly common, and tigers are

occasionally killed. Two varieties of black bear are found in the hills, and in the tops of the highest mountains the serow is occasionally to be seen. Other animals include wild cats, wild pigs, which are faily common, otters, monkeys, and rats. Rats occasionally do much damage in the hills by consuming all the grain. They are specially voracious in the south, where Manipur adjoins the Lushai country, and in the Lushai Hills they once produced an actual famine. Wild duck of various kinds, and wild geese are extraordinarily plentiful, and the surface of the Loktak is often covered with these birds. Hume's pheasant (*phasianus humiæ*) is found in Manipur, in addition to the peacock pheasant (*polyplectrum*) and the ordinary Kalij pheasant. There is excellent snipe shooting, and partridges, wood cock, and jungle fowl (*gallus ferrugineus*) are also to be had. Cobras and other poisonous snakes are rare, but harmless snakes are not uncommon. Large python are found in the moist warm valleys that separate the ranges that lie between Cachar and Manipur.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

Early traditions—Reign of Panheiba from 1714 to 1754—Three Rajas in ten years—Jaie Singh reigns intermittently—Marjit and his brothers —Burmese occupation—Continuous anarchy—Gambhir Singh—Nur Singh Regent and then Raja—Chandra Kirti Singh—Thirteen raids and two revolutions in 32 years—Sur Chandra Singh—Murder of the Chief Commissioner in 1891 and subsequent pacification of State—History of Political Agency—Unsatisfactory position of Agent—Turbulence of hill tribes in 1891

Origin of the Manipuris.

THE origin of the Manipuris, as of the other hill tribes on the frontier, must always be a matter of uncertainty. McCulloch reports that, according to the most credible traditions, the valley was originally occupied by several tribes, the principal of which were named, Koomal, Looang, Moirang, and Meithei, all of whom came from different quarters of the compass. The Koomal are said to have been originally the most powerful and after them the Moirang; but ultimately the Meithei subdued them all and formed them into a single people. Tradition says that the Moirangs came from the south, the country of the Kukis and the Chins; the Koomal from the east, where the Tankuls now are found;

and the Meithei and Looang from the hills to the north-west, which are at present occupied by the Kapuis and the Mao Maram Nagas.* McCulloch, with whom Brown agrees, is of opinion that the Manipuris are descended from the tribes inhabiting the hills that surround the valley, and bases his opinion on their own traditions, on philological affinities, and on the fact that the ceremony of ascending the throne is performed in Naga dress, while the *Zimchaw* or 'great house,' the original residence of the hill chief, is built in Naga fashion. The Manipuris, it should be said, deny that the costume in question is in any way peculiar to the Nagas, and a small section of them lay claim to a western and Hindu descent.

Early traditions of Manipur.

According to McCulloch (p. 5) the records of Manipur contain a long list of chiefs, a list of names and of very little more. Pemberton reports that Manipur was visited by Samlongpha, brother of the king of Pong, towards the close of the eighth century A.D.† He had been on a raiding expedition through Cachar and Tippera, and descended into the valley near Moirang, a village on the western shore of the Loktak lake. He ordered the people of Moirang to make a yearly offering to the local gods, and visited the Meitheis, who were not assessed to tribute, but were ordered to dress more decently and to chew pan in place of the pieces of dried fish

* Account of the Valley of Manipur and of the Hill Tribes, by Major McCulloch, Political Agent at Manipur, p. 4.

† Report on the North-East Frontier, page 109. According to Pemberton this Samlongpha was the first Ahom or Shan chief to invade Assam. This invasion is, however, generally assigned to the 13th century, A.D.

they had formerly affected. For several centuries after the visit of this Shan prince nothing of interest is recorded in the annals of Manipur. The Meithei tribe increased in dignity and importance, and in 1475, the King of Pong proposed to marry a daughter of the Meithei chief. On her way to Pong she was carried off by the Raja of Khumbat, but he was promptly attacked and conquered by the combined forces of Pong and Manipur. His territories were made over to the Meithei chief, and the valley was visited by the Pong king who directed that the old form of Naga house should be abandoned and the so-called "long lived house" should be adopted in its stead. He also presented the Raja with a golden *pandhan*, a silver mounted dao, and a litter, which, with a sacred spear, were for many years the insignia of royalty. The last of these articles, the golden *pandhan*, disappeared in 1850, when it was carried off by Raja Debendro Singh.

Panheiba or Gharib Nawaz 1714—1764, A D

The modern history of Manipur may be said to date from 1714, when Panheiba, or Gharib Nawaz, accidentally shot his adopted father and thereby cleared his way to the throne. According to one account, Panheiba was a Naga boy who had been adopted by the Raja. Others say that he was the Raja's son by one of his inferior wives. It was the custom at that time to kill all sons born to the Raja by any of his minor wives. This in itself is a sufficiently unpleasant practice, but a perusal of the history of Manipur shows that amongst such a cruel and treacherous people there was much to be said in favour of the custom. Panheiba's mother succeeded in concealing her young infant, and smuggled him away into the hills. The principal Rani was not

blessed with a son, and the Raja having heard of the existence of Panheiba adopted him and declared him to be his heir.

Gharib Nawaz occupied the throne for forty years, and under his guidance Manipur appears to have attained to a position of considerable power and dignity. Several expeditions were led across the frontier into Burma, and it is said that a Burmese Raja was established on the throne at Ava who acknowleged the supremacy of Manipur. But the event which was fraught with the most fateful consequences for the people was the introduction, or, as some will have it, the revival of Hinduism. Another innovation was the rescission of the law prescribing the execution of the Raja's surplus sons, a liberal measure from which Gharib Nawaz was himself the first to suffer. In 1754, he was in the act of leading an expedition into Burma, accompanied by his eldest son Sham Shaee, when on the banks of the Ningthi, about five days' journey from Manipur, he and his eldest son were surprised and killed by a force sent by Jeet Shaee,* one of his younger sons, who had cast a covetous eye upon the throne.

hree Rajas etween 54 and 64.

This was but the beginning of the dreary tale of treason, rebellion, and intrigue which makes up the modern history of Manipur.† Like the priest of Aricia, most of the rulers of the State have remained seated on the *gadi*, only

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* Dun in his Gazetteer calls Jeet Shaee, Oogut Shah or Kakeelal thaba.

† It is thus described by Mackenzie in his North-East Frontier, p. 149. "The early history of Manipur was barbarous in the extreme. It was not only marked by constant raids of the Manipuris into Burma, and of the Burmese into Manipur, but by internal wars of the most savage and revolting type, in which sons murdered fathers and brothers murdered brothers without a single trait of heroism to relieve the dark scene of blood and treachery.

so long as they have been ablo to repel the perpetual assaults that have been made upon it by other aspirants. This in itself was bad enough, but the fact that the other aspirants were generally brothers of the reigning chief was an additional aggravation of the original offence of treason. Jeet Shaee only reigned for five years, and was then driven forth by his brother Burut Shaee, to die an exile in the Jaintia Hills.

Burut Shaee only lived for two years after the expulsion of his predecessor, and on his death, the succession devolved on Guru Sham, the eldest son of Sham Shaee and the grandson of Gharib Nawaz. This man was a cripple, and, so sensible was he of the disabilities caused by this infirmity, that he invited his brother Jaie Singh or Bhaggo Chandra to assist him in the administration of the country.

Guru Sham died in 1764, and Manipur then passed through a very dark period of its history. A year before the death of the crippled chief, the Burmese defeated the Manipuri forces and advanced into the valley. Though they only occupied it for a few days they were guilty of terrible atrocities, and carried away with them a great quantity of slaves. The Manipuris, feeling themselves too weak to oppose their national enemy unassisted, made overtures to the British. A small force under Captain Verelst was sent to their assistance in 1768, but the difficulties of transport proved insuperable, and it got no further than Cachar.

Burmese Invasion in 1763.

About 1765, the Burmese were again upon the move. The Manipuris met them at Tammu in the Kubo Valley but were defeated; the enemy entered the valley, and Jaie

1764—1798. Jaie Singh Raja, but driven from the State three times

Singh was compelled to fly to Cachar and from thence into Assam. The Burmese placed a prince called Kelemba on the throne, but it was not for long that he enjoyed the sweets of power. In 1768, Jaie Singh returned from Assam, Kelemba fled to Burma, and, when in the following year he returned in the hope of being able to regain the *gadi*, he was killed by two Manipuris who gained access to his person by professing to be bearers of a message from Jaie Singh. But, though he died, he did not die unavenged. In the following year his brothers entered the valley, and Jaie Singh was compelled to take refuge in Cachar. The miserable little State was then given up to anarchy and confusion, one pretender following another in quick succession on the throne, some of them being Manipuris and some Burmese.

After a time a Manipuri prince, by name Eremba, succeeded in introducing some form of settled government and some degree of order, and in the third year of his reign actually repulsed the Burmese who were engaged in one of their periodical invasions of the valley. On hearing of this most unusual success, Jaie Singh once more returned and took up the reins of Government which Eremba resigned with a humility which seems strangely unnatural in a Manipuri prince. In the following year the Burmese again invaded Manipur, Jaie Singh again sought safety in flight, and the State was once more handed over to all the miseries of misrule and anarchy.

After a time Jaie Singh once more succceeded in returning and establishing himself upon the throne. But he was now becoming an old man, and such dignity as still attached to the position of Raja of this petty State was

hardly sufficient to compensate for the terrible uncertainties of the position. Three times had he been driven from his throne, and in his declining years he seems to have longed for a less strenuous and eventful life. In 1798, he abdicated in favour of his eldest son Rabino Chandra, and went on a pilgrimage to Nadia, where he presently expired.

Rabino reigned for three years and then fell a victim to Gharib Nawaz's mistaken liberality in exempting the brothers of the heir-apparent from assassination. One afternoon he was peacefully engaged in looking on at a hockey match when he was murdered by the orders of one of his half-brothers Madu Chandra.

1798-1804. Two Rajas in succession killed by their half-brothers.

Madu Chandra did not remain long in possession of his ill-gotten gains. He was driven from the State by one of his brothers, Charjit Singh, and fled as usual to Cachar. Here he married the Raja's daughter and was supplied with men and arms, but his attempt to regain the *gadi* proved unsuccessful and he was killed by Charjit's troops.

It was too much to suppose that Charjit could remain for any length of time in unmolested possession of the throne, and Madu Chandra's place was quickly filled by another brother, Marjit Singh. Several engagements took place, but fortune did not favour the pretender, and he was compelled like his predecessors to take refuge in Cachar. Here he met with far from hospitable treatment. He had taken with him a famous hockey pony which aroused the envy of Gobind Chandra, the brother of the reigning Raja. When his offers to purchase were rejected, the prince seized the pony, relying

1804. Charjit attacked by his brother, Marjit, at first successful but afterwards defeated and driven out.

on the title of *force majeure*, and Marjit retired in dudgeon from the State. He then proceeded by sea to Rangoon, succeeded in obtaining assistance from the Burmese king, and with troops supplied to him by the hereditary enemy of his country, marched into Manipur and drove Charjit from the valley.

Marjit reigns from 1812-1819.

For seven years Manipur enjoyed a period of tranquility to which for long the people had been unaccustomed. Marjit avenged himself for the loss of his pony by invading Cachar and dividing most of that fertile district between his two brothers Charjit, to whom he had now been reconciled, and Gambhir Singh.* But in 1819, Marjit somewhat foolishly attempted to assert his independence of the Burmese, and when called upon to attend the court as a feudatory of the king, declined to do so. It was not to be supposed that the Burmese would quietly swallow the affront that had been put upon them. An army marched into Manipur, Marjit was compelled to fly, and the Burmese remained in occupation of the country.

Manipur in hands of Burmese from 1819-1824.

Marjit retired according to the custom of his predecessors to Cachar, which at that time was in the practical occupation of his brothers Charjit and Gambhir Singh, and the Burmese set up two puppet princes as the nominal rulers of Manipur. In 1823, the Burmese advanced across the hills into Cachar. They were now operating at a considerable distance from their base, and they were defeated and driven back by Gambhir Singh, who had taken up a strong position in the Surma Valley.

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* According to Pemberton (p. 45), Charjit was already a personage in Cachar and assisted Gobind Chand in getting rid of Marjit.

In the following year they returned again, but war had by this time been declared between the British and the Burmese, and the latter were completely routed by the Manipuris supported by the British troops. The line of their retreat lay through the most difficult and inhospitable country, and in their attempt to extricate their army they suffered serious loss. On reaching the valley of Manipur, they took up a position near Ningail. From this they were easily ejected by the Manipuris, and they then withdrew to their own country without any further attempt to retain the territory they had occupied for upwards of five years.

Summary of events between 1764 and 1824.

It is said that on the final withdrawal of the Burmese the adult male population of the valley of Manipur did not exceed 8,000 souls.* At first sight this would seem to be an extraordinarily low estimate, but great numbers of the people had been killed in action or carried into captivity, or had fled for safety to the Surma Valley. In the short space of sixty years, a period which is easily included in the memories of a single individual, the State had been invaded no less than four times by the Burmese, and for the last five years of this period they had remained in occupation of the country. No less than six times was the reigning Raja driven from the *gadi*, and this takes no account of the numerous puppet princes, who followed one another in quick succession during the two distinct periods in which the country was reduced to a hopeless state of anarchy. Twice had the reigning prince been murdered, and on

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* Annual Report of the Manipur Political Agency for 1868-69, by Dr R. Brown, Political Agent, Manipur, p. 65.

both occasions he had been murdered by the order of his own brother.

Gambhir Singh, 1825-834.

After the expulsion of the Burmese it was considered that both Charjit and Marjit were too old to undertake so onerous a task as the management of such a State as Manipur, and the sceptre accordingly devolved upon their younger brother Gambhir Singh. Five hundred muskets had already been supplied by the British Government to the Manipuris to assist them in recovering their country, and this valuable present was shortly afterwards supplemented by the gift of 1,500 more, a gift which added enormously to their value as a fighting force. Gambhir Singh then proceeded to advance against the Burmese, and succeeded in occupying the Kubo Valley which he held till 1824. It was in that year restored to Burma, at the request of the British Government who compensated Manipur for this loss of territory by an annual payment of the sum of Rs. 6,000 a payment which continues to be made at the present day, the actual amount now given being Rs. 6,270.

Regency of Nur Singh.

In 1884, Gumbhir Singh died leaving an infant son, and Nur Singh, the *senapati* or General-in-Chief, placed the baby on the *gadi* and assumed himself the office and dignity of regent. Nur Singh was himself a great-grandson of Gharib Nawaz, and thus stood in the same relation to the founder of the dynasty as Gambhir Singh, Charjit, and Marjit. They, however, traced their descent through the eldest son Sham Shaee, while Nur Singh was a grandson of the eleventh son Dhorshai. It was not, however, to be supposed that the other descendants

of Gharib Nawaz would acquiesce in the accession of a baby to the throne without a struggle.

In 1888, Turring Romba, the eldest son of Raja Robino Chandra, who was the elder brother of Gambhir Singh and had been murdered in 1801, invaded the valley with 800 men. But the regent was not the man to be taken unawares. Turring was killed, and most of his followers either killed or taken prisoner. Within the next few years two more attempts were made to drive the baby from his throne. One of these raids was led by two of Marjit's sons, the other, by two sons of Charjit Singh. Nur Singh was still too much for the raiders, and the people showed no desire for a change of rulers. All of these four swash bucklers were killed, and their scanty band of followers either slain or taken prisoner.

In 1844, Nur Singh was attacked by a traitor from within the camp. As the regent was returning from an evening visit to the temple, he was assailed by an assassin, who inflected a severe, but luckily not mortal wound. The conspirators were arrested, and the Rani fled to Cachar with her infant son. Here she gave out that she had fled under the impression that Nur Singh was dead, and his government overthrown; but it was more generally believed that she had been the real instigator of the plot, and that on its failure she had been compelled to seek safety in flight.

Nur Singh assumes sovereignty 1844–1850

This at any rate was the view to which Nur Singh inclined, and without further ado he stepped into the place which had been vacated by the action of the Queen mother. He did not live to enjoy it long, and

in 1850, died of cholera. Shortly before his death he defeated an expedition led by Milai Romba and his brother, who were descendants of Raja Churai Romba and had designs upon the throne. Their followers were routed, and one of the brothers killed in action, the other captured and put to death.

Debendra Singh.

Nur Singh was succeeded by his brother Debendra Singh, who enjoyed a troubled reign of three months' duration. The three sons of Nur Singh at once retired to Cachar, and brought back Chandra Kirti Singh, the son of Gambhir Singh, for whom Nur Singh had acted as regent for ten years. The people made no concealment of their preference for the son of their old Raja, and Debendra Singh was compelled to retire to the usual refuge of disappointed Manipuri princes.

Chandra Kirti Singh. 1850.

The new Raja then made the eldest son of Nur Singh, *jubraj* or heir-apparent, and another son *senapati* or commander of the forces; but within a fortnight another revolution was in progress. The three sons of Nur Singh, who had turned out Debendra Singh to put Chandra Kirti Singh in, within a fortnight combined with a younger brother of Debendra Singh to overthrow the man they had themselves conspired to place upon the *gadi*. They were, however, defeated, and as usual, fled to Cachar. Debendra Singh then made two attempts to recover his lost throne, but neither of them were successful. In 1851, his son combined with two of Nur Singh's sons to try and wrest the sceptre from the Raja, but the conspirators were defeated and Debendra's son was killed. Hope springs, however, eternal in the Manipuri breast, and in the following year the sons of

two other Manipuri Rajas, Madu Chandra and Marjit, made an attempt, which was as usual unsuccessful. For seven years there was a cessation of these raids, but in 1859, one Mypak, a descendant from the original Gharib Nawaz, tried his luck and failed. In 1862, he made a second attempt, equally unsuccessful, and was wounded and made prisoner. In 1864, Kanai Singh, Marjit's son, made a second bid for the crown, but again without success, and in 1866, Gokul Singh, a younger son of Debendra Singh, headed a raid from Cachar. On this occasion an incident occurred which was quite in keeping with the usual proceedings of this little State; proceedings which would seem almost too grotesquely foolish even for burlesque, if the results were not so tragic for the principal performers in the drama. The Raja's men moved out to meet the raiders, and towards evening entrenched themselves in the position they had taken up. In the meanwhile a party of sepoys, who had been sent from Cachar in pursuit of Gokul Singh, came up, and, finding a number of Manipuris holding a position, jumped to the conclusion that these were the raiders led by Gokul Singh. The same idea occurred to the Manipuri troops, who were not aware that any sepoys were coming from Cachar. A smart action ensued, and, while the two parties sent to capture Gokul Singh were busily engaged in pounding one another, Gokul Singh himself slipped away unobserved.

Thirteen raids and two attempted revolutions in 31 years.

It would be difficult to find any parallel for such a State as Manipur. Reference has been already made to the terrible state of anarchy that prevailed at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Much of the trouble of that troublous time was due to the treachery of the Manipuri princes, a treachery which did not even spare a brother or a father. But much was due to the Burmese, and for their invasions the Manipuris were only partially responsible; though, had they not been so hopelessly divided, they would probably have succeeded in repelling the attacks that were made upon the valley. But after the appointment of a Political Agent in 1835, they were practically guaranteed against invasion from without, and the troubles that beset them were all of their own making. Even the President of a South American Republic, even a political leader in the Balkan States, would turn with disgust from such a sorry record, such a pitiful tale of political incapacity and intrigue. In the short space of 32 years, between 1834 and 1866, no less than thirteen attempts were made upon the throne by filibustering adventurers from Cachar, and there were no less than two attempts at revolution from within. Except in the case of the one raid which was successful, and which placed Chandra Kirti Singh upon the throne, it can hardly be said that any of the pretenders had the smallest claim to oust the chief who happened to be in possession at the time. Rajas of Manipur have many sons, the right of primogeniture is but imperfectly acknowleged, and any descendant of the ruling house who felt that he had the very smallest prospect of success, did not hesitate to make an atempt upon the *gadi*.

ur Chandra ingh, 1886.

In May 1886, Chandra Kirti Singh died and was succeeded by his eldest son Sur Chandra Singh. As usual, attempts were made by other pretenders to drive

him from the throne. Bara Chauba Singh, the eldest son of Nur Singh, headed a rising which nearly proved successful, but was ultimatety defeated and compelled to fly. In October 1886, he started from Cachar with a force of 300 men, but was followed by Lieutenant Harris with 100 military police. Bara Chauba took up his position on a small hill about three miles from Imphal, but was defeated without difficulty and surrendered. He and his relatives were deported to Hazaribagh, and those of his followers who were British subjects were sentenced by the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar to various terms of imprisonment for waging war upon a friendly State.

In 1887, two more attempts were made, both of which occurred in the month of September. The first was headed by the *wangkhairapka*, or chief judicial officer of the State. It was quelled without difficulty by the Manipuri troops; and the leader was shot dead when making a rush upon the Raja's private residence. The second was headed by Jogendra Singh, the son of a man called Chiba, who had been killed when heading a revolt against Nur Singh some 40 years before. The insurgents, about 200 in number, entered the State from Cachar, hotly pursued by a detachment of the military police. They were met by a company of the 44th Gurkha Light Infantry (now 8th Gurkha Rifles) under Lieutenant Row, and Jogendra Singh and 14 of his followers were killed, while 38 were taken prisoner.

Sur Chand Singh expelled in 1890.

The revolution that took place in 1890 was successful, and Sur Chandra Singh was driven from his palace by his two youngest brothers. They were instigated to this act of treachery by the third brother Tekendrajit,

the *senapati* or chief military officer in the State. The deposed Raja took refuge in the residency, and there formally resigned the crown, announcing the fact of his abdication in a letter to the *senapati*, and returning to the palace the silver sword of state. He then withdrew to that home of lost Manipuri causes, Cachar. But as soon as he reached British territory he repudiated his deed of abdication and applied to the Government for assistance in the recovery of the throne.

he arrest of .e Senapati dered.

Such a proposal did not commend itself to the Government of India. They decided to recognise as Raja the second brother Kula Chandra Dhaja Singh, who, on the flight of Sur Chandra, had proclaimed his accession to the *gadi;* but directed that the turbulent *senapati* who had been the leading spirit in the recent revolution, should be deported from the State. The *senapati* was, however, very popular with the Manipuris, and this was probably the principal cause of the determined opposition offered to his arrest. To carry out these orders the Chief Commissioner, with an escort of 400 sepoys of the 42nd and 44th Gurkha Rifles (now the 6th and 8th) under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Skene, proceeded to Manipur, and arrived at Imphal on March 22nd. He was received with every show of outward respect, but it was a significant fact that the salute was fired from within the Fort, and that the guns were not as usual brought out to the polo ground. A durbar was announced for noon on the same day, but though Kula Chandra presented himself at the residency, the *senapati* sent his excuses and stated that he was too ill to come. The Chief Commissioner declined to hold a

durbar in the absence of the *senapati*, and, as the Raja was unable to procure his attendance, he was allowed to leave. In the afternoon the Political Agent visited the palace, and informed the Raja that the durbar would be held at 9 A.M. on the following day, March 23rd. The day and the hour came, but neither the Raja nor the *senapati* appeared. An ultimatum was then sent to the palace to the effect that if the *senapati* was not given up without more ado, steps would be taken to have him seized by force. The Political Agent also spent some hours in consultation with the Raja, and endeavoured to induce him to comply with the demands of Government, but without effect.

The fight on March 24th.

Shortly before daybreak on March 24th, two parties of men were sent to arrest the *senapati* in his house, which was situated about a quarter of a mile away to the north-east, just outside the strong wall which encircled the precincts of the palace. The first party, under the Command of Lieutenant Brackenbury, approached the house from the east. They appear to have advanced too far, and Lieutenant Brackenbury was mortally wounded. The Manipuris lining the inner wall of the palace then opened fire from the south, and the sepoys, assailed as they were in front and on the flank, fell back. In the meanwhile, the second party under Captain Butcher had succeeded in capturing the house, but the *senapati* had flown, and they merely continued to hold the house and temple, from which they replied to the desultory fire which was opened from the northern wall of the palace enclosure. The western gate of the fort was also seized; but in the afternoon the troops were withdrawn

from these two advanced positions, and concentrated in the residency. The Manipuris had been firing on this building during the afternoon, but the bombardment seems to have done comparatively little damage. In the evening the cease fire was sounded, and the Chief Commissioner attempted to enter into negotiations with the enemy. The correspondence proved abortive, but a message was shortly afterwards received to the effect that the *senapati* was anxious to confer with Mr. Quinton somewhere between the residency and the main gate of the fort. The Chief Commissioner moved away down the road attended or followed by the Political Agent Mr. Grimwood, Lieutenant-Colonel Skene, Lieutenant Simpson, and the Private Secretary, Mr. Cossins. The party advanced further and further down the road, till at last they could dimly be descried through the gathering darkness standing in front of the main gate. Then they disappeared, and were never seen again alive by European eyes. The officers remaining in the residency continued to look down the road striving to catch a glimpse of the returning party. As time went on their anxiety grew apace, but they hesitated to take any decisive action for fear lest they might in some way prejudice the course of the negotiations. About midnight a voice called from the fort in Manipuri, "the Chief Commissioner will not return," and immediately afterwards the Manipuris began once more to open fire upon the residency. It was then decided by the officers who had assumed comand in the absence of Colonel Skene, to retire towards Cachar, and no time was lost in giving effect to this decision.

From the accounts given by the natives who were present, it appears that the British officers had a meeting with the *senapati* and other ministers outside the durbar hall. No conclusion had been arrived at, and the officers had started to return, when they were hemmed in by a menacing and angry crowd. The ministers requested them to re-enter the durbar hall, as they were doubtful whether they could restrain the mob, but, as they were going there, Mr. Grimwood received a mortal wound from a spear, and Lieutenant Simpson, who immediately attacked the murderer, was slashed across the head with a dao. It is doubtful whether this attack was premeditated, and whether at the time when the Chief Commissioner was asked to enter the fort, the *senapati* had any treacherous designs upon his life. But by a curious process of reasoning they seem to have considered that, now that one of the five had been murderously assaulted, there was nothing to be gained by abstaining from further treachery. The officers were detained for some time in the durbar hall, an insignificant building of lath and plaister containing several rooms, and resembling a small bungalow more than a hall of audience. They were then brought out bound, thrown on the ground in front of the two dragons that stood before the palace wall, and beheaded in the somewhat barbarous Manipuri fashion. **Fate of the Chief Commissioner and his companions**

Outside Imphal a wanton and unprovoked attack was made upon the Superintendent of Telegraphs, Mr. Melville. That unfortunate gentleman left Manipur on March 23rd, and proceeded by easy stages towards Kohima, as he was not aware that there was any **Murder of Mr. Melvill**

risk of disturbances occurring. On March 25th, he was at Maiangkang, about 33 miles from Imphal, and there discovered that he was unable to communicate by wire either with Manipur or Kohima. In the afternoon a party of Manipuris rode into the post, but as there was a Manipuri thana at the place there was nothing in this incident to arouse suspicion. Mr. Melville was a cripple, he was only accompanied by a Eurasian signaller and his servants, and, ignorant as he was of any cause for treachery, he was entirely unprepared. Even so the Manipuris did not venture to attack him openly, but summoned the Nagas from a neighbouring village, and waited for the night to come and hide their movements. They then began shouting and creating a disturbance outside the rest-house, and when the signaller came out to learn the meaning of this demonstration, they fired a volley which stretched him mortally wounded in the verandah. Mr. Melville and his servants escaped out by the back and groped their way up a deep ditch, but lame as he was, the unfortunate gentleman could not go far. The Manipuris burnt the rest-house, but on the following morning, when they came to examine the scene of their brave exploit, they could only discover the corpse of a single Saheb amongst the ashes. A search was instituted without delay, and Mr. Melville was found crouching in the ditch. A Naga promptly ran him through with a spear, and his head was carried off in triumph. In Manipur itself the residency, the post office, and the treasury were destroyed by fire, and the graves in the garden of the residency were desecrated. Cash,

notes, and stamps to the value of more than Rs. 1,85,000 were also looted.

Restoration of order in Manipur.

The following account of the steps taken to reduce the rebels is reproduced from the account given in the Report of the Political Agent for 1891-92 :—

"As soon, however, as the news of the disaster was brought to Kohima by fugitive sepoys and others, the Deputy Commissioner at once marched on Mao, and drove back some Manipuri forces. On the Cachar side troops were moved to the Barak river, and measures were taken to occupy the Manipur capital by British troops. Three columns marched on Manipur from Kohima, Silchar, and Tammu, and arrived before the palace on the morning of the 27th April, to find that the Regent and his brother had taken to flight on the previous evening towards the Tankul Hills, and the leading Manipuris were in hiding in the valley. The palace had been looted by the villagers, the arsenal was destroyed, and the capital completely evacuated. A detachment of Mounted Infantry were quickly sent in pursuit of the fugitives, who were followed up into the Tankul Hills, where further pursuit was abandoned owing to the paths being impassable for ponies. Foot soldiers then took up the chase, but without success; in the meanwhile some Kukis, who were armed by me, headed the princes and compelled them to return to the valley, where one by one they were captured by Manipuris in my employ, the Senapati being the last to be arrested on the 23rd May.

Hearing of the disaster at Manipur, the Jemadar in Command of the Military detachment of 30 sepoys, 43rd Gurkha Rifles, at Langthabal, the British cantonment three miles to the south of the capital, withdrew his detachment in good order to Tammu. Here he met the gallant Lieutenant (now Major) Grant, who, on hearing the news, at once marched on Manipur, taking with him the Jemadar's detachment, in addition to 50 men of his own regiment, the 12th Regiment (2nd Burma Battalion), Madras Infantry. At Thobal, 14 miles from Manipur, Lieutenant Grant's force was met by the Manipuri troops, who, however, failed to dislodge him from the position he had taken up at one end of the village. He was, however, unable to advance, and was recalled to Tammu, which he succeeded in reaching without loss. A Panjabi trader at Langthabal, named Hafiz Fateh Shah, gave much assistance to the detachment retiring on Tammu, and again to Lieutenant Grant on his advance on Manipur. For his loyalty and bravery on these occasions, he

has been rewarded by a money payment of Rs. 100, 12 plough cattle and a grant of 20 acres of land in Manipur rent free for life. He has also been given the title of "Lion hearted."

The only serious opposition to the march on Manipur was met by the Burma column near Palel, where some 300 of the enemy had encamped in a small earthwork. Of this number, 200 unwisely permitted themselves to be surrounded, and in the fight that ensued 193 were killed, our loss being one native officer killed and three British officers, one native officer, and one sepoy wounded. On arrival at Manipur the bodies of our officers and men were interred in the Residency cemetery; and the surplus troops shortly afterwards returned to India and Burma. The summer garrison retained in the valley comprised 8th Mountain Battery, 1-2nd Gurkha Rifles, 43rd Gurkha Rifles, 44th Gurkha Rifles. In October the 1-2nd Gurkha Rifles returned to India, and in the following month the Mountain Battery marched to Burma. The 44th Gurkha Rifles on being relieved by a wing of the 42nd Gurkha Rifles from Kohima returned to Shillong, and the permanent garrison in Manipur now consists of the 43rd Gurkha Rifles and the wing of the 42nd Gurkha Rifles."

Punishment of the guilty.

In the meanwhile those principally responsible for the murder of the British officers were placed upon their trial. Kula Chandra, the acting Raja, Tekendrajit the *senapati*, and Angao Singh the third brother were brought before a special commission, which sentenced the *senapati* to death and the other two to transportation for life. The Tankul general, one of the most influential persons in the State, Niranjan Subadar, an ex-sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry, and Kajao Manipuri, the actual murderer of Mr. Grimwood, were all sentenced to death by the Political Agent. Gallows were erected on the polo ground, and the sentences duly carried out. As far as the eye could see the plain was white with women. In the Raja's days a criminal sentenced to death was occasionally reprieved if a sufficient number of women appeared to intercede for him, and, hoping that possibly

the old custom might still prevail, the women had assembled in their thousands. As the drop fell and the *senapati* and Tankul general were launched into eternity, a deep groan went up from the assembled throng.

Regrant of Manipur State. The Government of India declared that the Manipur State was forfeit to the crown, but decided in their clemency to regrant it to a scion of a junior branch.* Their choice fell upon Chura Chand, the youngest of five brothers who were the great grandsons of Nur Singh through his fifth son Bhogendra. It has been already shown that Nur Singh, like Gambhir Singh (the father of Sur Chandra Kirti Singh), was a great-grandson of Gharib Nawaz, but he traced his descent through a younger son. The people, it is said, received the news with some surprise and disappointment. The common folk were in favour of annexation, and could not understand why, if the State was to be regranted, a boy should be selected, who, if nominally of royal descent, belonged to a family whose circumstances and surroundings were of the humblest.† Since 1891, the affairs of the State have been administered by the Political Agent during the minority of the Raja, and various reforms, which will be described in the following chapters, have been initiated.

History of the Political Agency. The history of the Royal family, and of the internecine feuds with which it has been torn, has now been traced from the time of Gharib Nawaz, the founder of the

* Notification No. 1700 E. dated 21st August, 1891.

† The Rajkumars of Manipur unless holding office differ in no way from the ordinary peasant. The women folk sell in the bazar, and the widow of a Raja sometimes has an establishment of a single servant and does not even possess a chair to offer to her visitors

present dynasty, and the ancestor of innumerable hordes of Rajkumars. It now remains to refer to various other matters concerned with the history and administration of the State.

A Political Agent was first appointed in 1835, when the European officer deputed to supervise the Manipur levy was withdrawn. He was posted in the valley "for the preservation of a friendly intercourse and as a medium of communication with the Manipur Government, and, as occasion may require, with the Burmese authorities on that frontier, and more especially to prevent border feuds, which might lead to hostilities between the Manipuris and the Burmese." * In 1870, his duties were further defined by Government, and were said to consist primarily in insisting upon a strict fulfilment of the duties which the Raja is bound by treaty to perform, and in bringing his influence gently and gradually to bear upon the Raja for the reform of abuses in his internal administration.†

Proposal to abolish the Agency.

In 1861, the Civil Finance Commission under the presidency of Sir Richard Temple proposed that the Political Agency at Manipur should be abolished. The proposal did not commend itself to the Government of India, and it is said that the mere rumour of impending change was productive of ill effects in Manipur. "Every British subject made arrangements to leave. Trade with Burma almost ceased. Unoffending Nagas and Kukis who had been induced by former Political Agents to come down from their hills, were seized and

* Political correspondence. February 11th, 1835, No. 106.

† Political A. September, 1870, No. 169.

enslaved, and the people of one village under the protection of the Agent were ordered to pay Rs. 1,600 to realize which they had to sell their families.*" On the removal of Dr. Dillon in 1863, the question of the retention of the Political Agent was again raised, and in February 1864, the Raja himself asked that an officer might be posted in the valley. It was finally decided to accede to his request, for reasons which were set forth as follows in the orders of the Govenment of India. "The past history of the country shows that no Chief has been able to manage the people: they have one and all proved cruel, oppressive, and weak. The country has been the scene of civil wars, murders, devastation, and misery under the nominal control of the Chiefs; while as a rule, peace, order, and comparative prosperity reigned while a British Agent was present. Lastly, but not least, both the Chief himself and his people desire to have a British Agent amongst them; they have told Captain Stewart that the presence of one is equal to a brigade as regards the security of the country.†"

Hostile attitude of Raja towards Political Agent.

The Raja seems to have been anxious enough to receive a representative of the Government at his court, but the treatment accorded to him when he came was often far from satisfactory. In 1862, Dr. Dillon was appointed Agent, and in the following year the Raja submitted to the Government of India a document in which he formulated a number of serious charges against their local representative. No detailed enquiry was made

* Precis of correspondence regarding Manipur affairs, by J. Clark, 1879, page 23.

† Political A. April, 1864, No. 108.

into these charges, as on other grounds the Governor General in Council was of opinion that Dr. Dillon had shewn that he was not qualified for the appointment which he held. Ten years later, charges were brought against the Officiating Political Agent, Colonel Thomson, which were found by the Government of India to be entirely false. Again in 1876, complaints were made to the Chief Commissioner against the Political Agent Dr. Brown. Colonel Keatinge warned the Raja that charges of this nature should not be lightly made against the representative of Government accredited to his court, but the Chief replied that he had satisfied himself by a strict examination that they were true. Orders were accordingly issued for an enquiry to be held in Manipur, and the conduct of the proceedings was entrusted to Colonel Sherer, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang. Dr. Brown was too ill to attend during the proceedings, and died the day before their termination,* but he handed in a written statement and named the witnesses he wished to call on his behalf. On Colonel Sherer's report the Government of India remarked that there could be little doubt that much of what was alleged against Dr. Brown was untrue, trivial, and childish. They desired, however, that further evidence should be taken with regard to the 19th charge, non-payment of coolies; and Captain Durand, who had been appointed to officiate as Political Agent, was entrusted with the enquiry. The conclusion

* The Political Agents of Manipur have been unfortunate. In the residency garden there are the tombs of no less than four, who died, two of them violent deaths, between 1876 and 1891. The first Political Agent is buried at Langthabal.

come to by this officer was that the charges brought against Dr. Brown were the result of a deliberate conspiracy. The Raja and all the principal officers of the State were implicated, and evidence more or less false had been given throughout. A severe reproof was in consequence transmitted from the Government of India to the Raja.

Unsatisfactory position of the Political Agent.

The following account is given by Captain Durand of the position of the Political Agent:

"The Political Agent is dependent on the will and pleasure of the Maharaja for everything. His every word and movement are known to the Maharaja. He is in fact a British officer under Manipur surveillance. If the Maharaja is not pleased with the Political Agent he cannot get anything—he is ostracised; from bad coarse black atta which the Maharaja sells him as a favour, to the dhobi who washes his clothes, and the Nagas who work in his garden; he cannot purchase anything at any price. The court is almost openly hostile, though they have pliancy enough to pretend to a great regard for the Political Agent and the Sirkar." *

Manipur aids Angamis opposes demarcation of frontier

But it was not only in his attitude towards the Political Agent that the conduct of Chandra Kirti Singh was not above suspicion. In 1850, it became clear that Manipur was giving assistance to the Angami Nagas who were at that time a serious source of embarrassment to the Administration. Such conduct elicited a severe reproof from the Imperial Government, and for a time at any rate there was some improvement. In 1872-73, the Raja again adopted a most unseemly attitude, when steps were being taken for the demarcation of the boundary between Manipur and the Naga Hills. Every obstruction possible was offered, and the Raja even had

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* Precis of correspondence regarding Manipur affairs, by J. Clark, p. 28.

the effrontery to expressly "forbid" the Political Agent to enter the eastern portion of his territories. The Maharaja was sternly called to account by the Supreme Government, and was required to submit an ample apology for his improper conduct.

But is of assistance in the mutiny and against Lushais.

On the other hand, the attitude of the Raja during the mutiny was quite correct, and he was of material assistance in the Lushai expedition of 1871-72. Again in 1879, it was the timely appearance of Colonel Johnstone with the Manipuri troops which saved the garrison of Kohima from disaster. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Manipuris had no grounds for entertaining any feelings other than those of friendliness towards the British Government. It was to this Government that they owed their deliverance from Burma, their hereditary enemy. It was this Government that had strengthened their hands and so enabled them to subdue the hill tribes that surround the valley. On the north they were restrained from proceeding too far against the Angami Nagas, but activity in this quarter was likely to have few practical results. The various Political Agents seem to have been all agreed in condemning the native form of Government as very bad, but this is a question which it is hardly necessary to elaborate in a Gazetteer.* There was very little interference with the internal administration of the State, and the practical result of the connection of the British Government with Manipur was merely to guarantee it from invasion from without.

* The opinions of the Political Agents will be found summarised in the Precis of correspondence regarding Manipur affairs, by J. Clark, page 5.

A lengthy account of the relations of Manipur with Burma and with the tribes on the southern frontier, the Kamhows, Kukis, and Lushais, will be found in the North-East Frontier of Bengal by Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Mackenzie, pages 160-212. The annexation of Burma and the Lushai Hills has put a stop to all trouble on that frontier, and no useful purpose would now be served by summarising the story of these raids.

Relation with Bur and tribe the south Frontier

The events of 1891, if they did nothing else, afforded an excellent example of the necessity that exists for constant vigilence on the North-East Frontier. The Manipuris had a short way with the hillmen. The possession of muskets gave them an immense advantage over savages armed with spears and bill-hooks, and turbulence and insubordination were suppressed with stern severity. So firm was their rule that by some it was thought that the leopard had actually changed its spots, and that Nagas and Kukis had lost even the potentialities of violence. Lieutenant Dun, in 1882, declared that the Tankuls were thoroughly subject to the Manipuris and were "not in the least warlike." As soon as the Manipuri sepoys were withdrawn in 1891, this tribe reverted to the customs of its ancestors, and decided six longstanding disputes in its own way. Two of them were settled without actual homicide, but the remaining four cost altogether 80 lives. In the north-west corner of the State the Kukis raided the Kabui Naga village of Atteng and killed fifty-two persons, losing two of their own men in doing so. They also acted in a peculiarly treacherous manner towards the Nagas of the Makui village near Kaitemabi. These Nagas were in charge of

Turbulen of the hil tribes in 1891.

a state granary, and, on their refusing to supply the Kukis with some of the dhan, three of them were attacked and killed. The Kukis expressed regret for this occurrence, and in order to re-establish good relations invited the Nagas to a feast, at which they proposed to re-cement the bonds of friendship. The Nagas were weak enough to trust these savages, with the result that half-way through the meal the Kukis suddenly turned upon their guests and murdered seventeen! In addition to these more or less wholesale operations, seven persons were at various times murdered by Nagas on the Kohima-Manipur road, so that travelling in this portion of the State was a thing not wholly devoid of interest and excitement.

The Kuki raid on Swemi in 1893.

In the following year affairs were fairly quiet, and only seven murders were reported from the hills, though one of these murders was fraught with serious consequences. A Kuki, by name Toki, was of opinion that the Naga village of Swemi had stolen some of his paddy. When he went to complain, Swemi, far from giving satisfaction, killed the Naga he had taken with him to act as an interpreter. This occurred in December, 1892, and at first the Kukis seemed to take the matter fairly quietly. But all the while they were taking stock of their resources, and preparing a vengeance which, if long delayed, was complete and thorough when it came. Four months later they fell upon the doomed village in the gray light of the early morning when the people were still sleeping in their houses. Taken unawares they could not fight, and there was no time to fly; and when the avengers of the murdered interpreter and the stolen

grain had finished their grim work, they found that they had accounted for 286 of the offending villagers, 187 of whom were women and children. This raid was suitably punished; the hillmen then began to settle down once more, and during the last ten years have given comparatively little trouble.

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION.

Area and density—Imphal town—Villages—Growth of population—Birth-place — Sex— Marriage customs — Infirmities — Language—Caste — Physical appearance and moral characteristics—Hill tribes—Religion —Occupations—Games and amusements—Sradhs.

Density. THE Manipur State covers an area of 8,456 square miles and in 1901 had a population of 284,465, so that the density of the country as a whole is only 84 to the square mile The greater part of the State consists, however, of hills, which can only support a sparse and scattered population, and in these mountain ranges there are only some 12 persons to the square mile. The area of the valley is not accurately known, but is probably about six hundred square miles. Here the density is a great deal higher, and is probably not less than 320 to the square mile, a figure which is considerably in excess of the rate recorded for any of the plains districts in the Province with the solitary exception of Sylhet

Imphal town. Manipur contains one town, Imphal, and 1,409 villages, 896 of which are situated in the hills. Imphal is, however, hardly a town in the sense in which that word

is generally understood. The site of the *pat* (the fortified enclosure in which prior to 1891 the Raja's palace stood) and a block of land to the west, have been constituted a reserve on which the Manipuris are not allowed to settle. Within the earthen ramparts of the *pat* are fine lines for the accommodation of eight companies of native troops, the military police hospital, the mess, and the bungalows of the regimental officers. All of these buildings are of red brick roofed with tiles, and the officers' houses recall the villas near Maidenhead or some other river-side resort more than the ordinary bungalow of the Indian plains. West of the *pat* is the residence of the Political Agent, and further back, beyond the afternoon bazar and the polo ground, is a row of kaiyas' shops, with the Manipuri court houses and the school close by. The rest of the town is nothing more than one huge village. The houses stand in spacious compounds, and are effectually hidden from the road by the screen of *ikra* which grows from the mud walls surrounding them. There are no shops, and the place is absolutely devoid of any urban features. Imphal is, in fact, nothing more than a cantonment situated at the northern end of an enormous village. In addition to the military lines the public buildings include the residency, the offices of the Political Agent and the Superintendent of the State, a post and a telegraph office, and a few smaller bungalows occupied by the Raja's tutor, the Assistant to the Political Agent, and the State Engineer The central part of the town is well lighted with acetylene gas, far better lighted in fact than any other town in Assam. Acetylene gas, though

an excellent illuminating medium, is by no means cheap. Kerosine oil lamps were first tried, but so much oil was stolen from the lamps that it was found that the acetylene lamp, which was not exposed to depredations of this nature, was positively cheaper. There are seven protected tanks in the town from which the water is pumped and distributed through pipes to various localities. The Manipuri professes to be unable to drink this pipe water, but his scruples appear to be quickly disappearing. In each house there is a filthy pond into which is drained all the surface water from the compound, little channels being especially cut to facilitate the process. Here the Manipuri washes his clothes and person, and then draws his drinking-water. The rivers are full of water in the rains, but in the dry season shrink to shallow muddy streams creeping languidly along at the bottom of their beds. The banks are high and steep, and at this season of the year their crests are fully twenty feet above the level of the water. The roads in the town are well kept up, and though most of them are unmetalled, are in excellent order, at any rate in the cold weather.

Villages. The ordinary Manipuri village resembles to some extent the villages of the Surma Valley. Little is to be seen from outside except bamboos, and to a stranger looking from above on to these shady groves, there is nothing to suggest that they are centres of population of anything more interesting than birds or monkeys. They are, however, much more clearly defined units than the villages of the Surma Valley. In Sylhet the bamboo groves seem to stretch for miles. Villages and hamlets

melt imperceptibly into one another, and it is often difficult to say where one begins and another ends. There is none of this uncertainty in Manipur. The village is set down fair and square in the middle of the rice fields tilled by its inhabitants, and it is sometimes several miles or more to its nearest neighbour. The houses have larger gardens than is usual in Assam, and the ground around the homestead is often sown with mustard. This garden is surrounded with a stout mud wall, and the place is fairly free from jungle. In Assam the cottages of the villagers are hemmed in by a thick wall of bamboos, plantains, areca palms, and other trees, which effectually exclude all light and air. The ground even in the winter time is damp, and wide-leaved arums cover the soil and add to the general humidity. This is not the case in Manipur. There are comparatively few bamboos or plantains, there are no areca palms, for they will not grow in this upland valley, and there is little jungle. The homestead is exposed to the purifying influences of the sun and air, and is a much healthier place to live in than the damp, dark cottages of the Assamese. In the hills the villages are generally built on a bare spot near the summit of a ridge. The houses are placed in proximity to one another and there are no gardens, so that a large Naga village almost attains the dignity of a little town.

Growth of population

The first census of Manipur was taken in 1881 and disclosed a population of 221,070. In 1891, the census schedules were filled up, but the papers were destroyed in the disturbances that occurred soon after, and there is no information available even with regard to the gross

population of the State. In 1901, the population was 284,465, which showed an increase of 28·61 per cent. in the 20 years. There is practically no immigration, and it is probable that a portion of the increase was due to the greater accuracy of the enumeration carried out under the direction of the Political Agent, the earlier census having been taken by the Durbar. A census of Manipur is not entirely free from difficulty. After the schedules had been filled up the entries had to be copied in Bengali on to slips of paper by persons who were acquainted with both Manipuri and Bengali, and the number of people who can read and write both Manipuri and Bengali is by no means large. These slips had then to be sent to the central census office at Gauhati, but the road at the time when they were despatched was very bad, and more than five weeks were consumed on the journey from Imphal to Dimapur.

Birthplace. Manipur is most effectually cut off from the outside world, and 99 per cent. of the people censused there in 1901 had been born within its boundaries. About one-third of the total number of foreigners had come from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and were employed as cartmen and in other menial capacities. Bengal and Nepal together supplied rather more than another third, and there were a few artisans from the Punjab. Detailed figures for immigrants will be found in Table III. There are large colonies of Manipuris in the Surma Valley, but these people left their country during the troublous times in the first half of the 19th century, and in 1901 there were only 8,448 persons who had been born in Manipur, and were living at the time of the census in

British districts of Assam.* About one-third of these people were found in the Surma Valley, one-third in the Naga Hills, and one-sixth in the hills inhabited by the Lushais.

The women in Manipur exceed the men in numbers in spite of the preponderance of the male sex amongst the immigrant population. This holds good of the three main classes in the community, *i.e.*, the Manipuris, who style themselves Kshattriyas, the Nagas, and the Kukis. Amongst the Brahmans alone is there a deficiency of women. Few things are more difficult to ascertain than the laws which govern the proportions of the sexes, but the preponderance of women in Manipur is apparently due more to a moderately reasonable death-rate than to an exceptionally large supply of female babies, as under five there is not much difference between the numbers of the sexes. The women of Manipur are shrewd, capable people, who at all stages of their career are allowed the fullest liberty. They are not exposed to the risks of infant marriage,† or mewed up within the four walls of their houses, and the comparatively healthy life they lead is no doubt the principal cause of their longevity. The deficiency of Brahman women is no doubt partly due to the fact that they sometimes contract alliances with non-Brahman Manipuris and thus sink to the status of their husbands. Brahman men also not unfrequently marry beneath them, but such a proceeding in their case entails no loss of caste. Sex.

* There were, however, 44,700 Manipuris in the Surma Valley and 21,300 Kshattriyas. Most of the latter were probably Manipuris

† Out of the 59,000 married women in Manipur in 1901 only 600 were less than 15 years of age.

In the plains there are three forms of marriage ceremony in vogue. Amongst the upper classes the preliminaries of the match are arranged by the guardians of the contracting parties, who are not allowed to have much to do with the selection of their future partners. When the arrangement is complete, the female friends of the bridegroom's family go to the girl's house with betelnut, sweetmeats, molasses, sugarcane, fruit, curds and light refreshments of this nature. These are distributed amongst the neighbours of the bride, who are then for the first time formally notified of the proposed alliance. This ceremony is called *Hawijubahpuha*. Suits for breach of promise of marriage receive little encouragement in the State, for, though the food provided on this occasion costs about twenty rupees, the penalty assessed if the girl declines to comply with her engagements is only half that sum. No allowance is made for wounded feelings, and, if the boy is ungallant enough to break off the match, he escapes scot-free and his fiancee has to console herself as best she can. If all goes well a date is fixed for the final marriage ceremony, which is called *Luhongba*, and which generally takes place from six months to two years after the girl has attained puberty. In the afternoon the bridegroom goes to the bride's house, accompanied by his friends and relatives. Light refreshments, which are provided by the father of the bride, are handed round, and a Brahman is in attendance to perform the marriage ceremony. The sacred fire of mango wood is lighted, *ghi* is thrown into it, and the hands of the happy couple are tied together with a whisp of *kusha* grass, while the priest

pronounces over them the appropriate *mantras*. The newly-married couple then retire inside the house, and a good deal of friendly chaff goes on amongst their boy and girl acquaintances. In the afternoon the bridegroom goes to his house, and in the evening his young wife is brought there in a dhuli and duly handed over to him. Both families make such presents to the newly-married couple as they can afford, but the obligatory expenses of the ceremony do not generally exceed some thirty or forty rupees. No price is demanded for the bride, unless she is of royal descent; the priest is content with a cloth and a rupee or two; and a sheet, which does not cost more than five or six annas, is sufficient wage for each of the musicians who have been engaged to attend the feast.

In cases where the people are too poor to afford even this moderate expenditure, the girl and the young man are taken by their guardians before some shrine, where, in the presence of the idol, the girl is formally made over to her husband. But simple and inexpensive though these forms of marriage are, they are generally dispensed with by the ordinary villager. Boys and girls have plenty of opportunity of meeting one another and falling in love like their brothers and sisters in the west, and after some months of courtship the damsel consents to elope with her young lover. He goes to her house at night with a party of friends armed with sticks to protect them from a rescue, the girl steals out after her parents are asleep, and they hurriedly make off to her lover's house. On the following morning an ambassador goes from the boy to the girl's home, and tells her father

The simple forms.

of all that has been done. If the match is a fairly reasonable one all will now be well, but if the boy is of inferior family the offended parents will decline to have anything more to do with their misguided daughter. Sometimes the young couple go to make their peace themselves. The old folks will be sitting in the house some few nights after the elopement, when suddenly weeping and wailing is heard outside the compound. The noise draws nearer, and at last the errant daughter and her lover present themselves before the outraged parents. At first there is no talk of forgiveness, but after a time the mother is won round, and peace is once more restored within the family. Four-fifths of the marriages of Manipur are said to begin with an elopement. The man while he is courting his bride naturally makes himself agreeable to her parents. He brings them little presents, works for them, and makes himself generally useful about the house and farm. The father of the girl does not wish to lose the services of his daughter or the attentions of his would-be son-in-law, and keeps putting off the marriage from month to month, till the young people are at last compelled to take the matter into their own hands. The marriage tie is not regarded with much sanctity in Manipur and can be dissolved by either side at will. The father keeps the children, but if there is an infant still at the breast it is left with the mother till it has been weaned. Adultery in the wife is regarded as a comparatively venial fault. Sometimes the husband turns her out, and the adulterer, if caught, is required to pay a penalty of Rs. 50; sometimes he merely gives the woman a good beating and lets the

matter go at that. The marriage customs of the hill tribes are described at length in the monographs by Mr. Hodson.

The following abstract shows out of 10,000 males the number afflicted with the four special infirmities recorded at the census of 1901. **Infirmities.**

	Manipur.	Assam.	India.
Insane ...	2	5	3
Deaf-mutes ...	2	9	6
Blind ...	6	10	12
Lepers ...	3	13	5

The proportion of afflicted persons is small, and it is possible that owing to the exceptional difficulties which attend the taking of a census in Manipur, the returns were not as accurate as they were elsewhere. There seems, however, to be little doubt that infirmities are far from common in the valley. In 1869 Dr. Brown reported that leprosy and madness were extremely rare, and that eye diseases and deformities were quite exceptional. The immunity from brain disease he attributed to abstinence from intoxicating drugs and liquors,* and it is only natural that in an unusually healthy population the number of those congenitally deaf should be exceptionally small.

The three principal languages spoken in the State are Manipuri or Meithei, Naga, and Kuki. At the census of 1901 the enumerators did not record the different dialects spoken by the various Naga tribes but lumped **Language.**

* It is doubtful whether temperance has much to do with the matter. The inhabitants of the Goalpara district are, as a whole, unusually temperate, and at the same time unusually mad.

them together under the one generic term. Dr. Grierson classifies them as follows :—

Sopvoma or Mao Naga, spoken by			..	10,000
Maram	,,	,,	...	2,500
Miyangkhang	,,	,,	...	5,000
Kwoireng	,,	,,		5,500
Lahupa or Tankul	,,	,,	...	25,000
Maring	,,	,,	.	1,500
Kapui	,,	,,	...	11,000
Koirao	,,	,,	...	15,000

It will be understood that the figures given above are merely estimates. Kapui Naga is said to be a transition language between Bodo and Angami, and Koirao is akin to it. The other six are allied both to Angami Naga and to Kuki. What little is known about the languages of Manipur will be found in Vol. III, Part II of the Linguistic Survey of India by Dr. G. A. Grierson. Meithei or ordinary Manipuri belongs to the Kuki Chin group of languages and is described at length in Vol. III, Part III of Dr. Grierson's work. Unlike most of the languages on the North East Frontier, it had a written character of its own, but this has been to a great extent displaced by the Bengali alphabet.

Caste. The caste rules of Manipur differ very materially from those in force in the Surma Valley or Bengal. At the head of the community come the Brahmans, who were originally, no doubt, descended from immigrants from the west, though the custom which permits them to intermarry with Kshattriya women without losing caste must have by now effected a thorough fusion of the blood. The great bulk of the Manipuris call themselves

Kshattriya and wear the [illegible] apparently lay claim to a [illegible] of the social scale come the Haris who were orig[illegible] sweepers, though they no longer perform the [illegible] but disgusting functions of their caste.

The Bishnupuriya Manipuris almost form a separate caste, and are said to be the descendants of 120 Hindu families of different castes, who were brought into the valley by Gharib Nawaz in the latter half of the eighteenth century to teach the indigenous inhabitants of the valley the customs of the Hindus. They intermarried with the people of the country, but after a time the Meithei, or original Manipuri race, came to the conclusion that the new-comers were of inferior stock, and they are now regarded with a certain measure of contempt. Both parties style themselves Kshattriyas, and in Manipur intermarry with one another. In the Surma Valley the distinction is more rigidly observed, and intermarriage is not generally allowed. According to another version they are Manipuris who came from Lakhipur in Cachar with a *salagram* called Bishnu, which is thought to be possessed of peculiar sanctity. Marjit took it with him in his flight to Cachar, and the party that brought it back across the hills first stopped at Bishenpur where the path descends from the Laimatol into the plain. They were then sent to Ningtho kong, and the duty of providing grass for the Raja's stable was entrusted to them. Another story says that they are the illegitimate descendants of a Manipuri Raja who stayed some time at Ningtho kong. Both of these legends fail to account for the undoubted physiological differences between

Bishnupuriya and other Manipuris, or for the slightly inferior position which they hold.

Lairikyembum and Maiangs. Another class are the Lairikyembum or writers, the descendants of families who probably originally came to Manipur as clerks. They do not wear the sacred thread and still retain the Bengali titles Basu and Das, but in other respects have now been absorbed into the general mass of the Manipuri population. The Maiangs are immigrants from the west but they are allowed the *jus connubii* by the Meithei, provided that they conform to ordinary Manipuri custom.

The Lois. The Lois are thus described by Dr. Brown :—*

"The Loi is not recognised as a pure Manipuri; they appear to be descendants of the former inhabitants of Moirang, one of the original tribes which formerly occupied the valley to the south. They were formerly independent, but were reduced ages ago by the Meitheis : hence the name Loi or subdued which was given them after their subjection. They profess to be Hindus, but are not recognised as such by the orthodox. The Loi caste seems a sort of limbo for non-descripts of all descriptions. Manipuris are frequently degraded to Loi as a punishment : in this case, should it not be remitted, which it usually is after a time, the punishment descends to the wife and family of the culprit who become Lois. All descendants of people of low caste, other than Mussalmans, seem to be consigned to the Lois. They are, perhaps, the most hardworking and useful class of people in the valley. All the men are employed in salt-making. Silk manufacture and fishing belong to this class. The Lois appear to have a separate language. One village of them, called Sengmai, speak a language only understood by themselves : this language is said to have an affinity with the Burmese. Amongst the Lois are a section chiefly engaged as fishermen on the Loktak lake, who do not perform lalloop but pay tribute to the Raja. This most probably arose from the necessity of having no risk of the supply of fish, which forms the staple food of the people, being intermittent. This branch of the Lois is called 'Sel Loi' (Sel,

* Pages 39 and 40.

the bell metal coin of the country). They consist of about 250 families, and each family has to pay a tax of about Rs. 2-4-0 monthly. This seems a very severe tax, considering the poverty of the country, but I am informed that they occasionally make large hauls of fish, which they are allowed freely to dispsoe of without any restriction; also that in bad seasons the amount of tribute is reduced. McCulloch says (account page 13) —'Of the Lois in the valley, the Sel Loi is considered the lowest.' This is not confirmed by the Manipuris, who state that the Sel Loi is considered rather a good class among themselves. There is a village to the south of the valley, named Shugunu, and containing about three or four hundred people who are descendants of Manipuris formerly reduced to the Loi caste. They are chiefly employed as wood-cutters and house-builders."

Three thousand six hundred and eighteen persons described themselves as Loi at the last census.

Functional Groups.

The following twenty-six functioned groups are mentioned by Dr. Brown.*

1.	Ningthan Selba	Raja's body and house servants.
2.	Lima Selba	Ranee's body and house servants.
3.	Maiba Sunglel	Act as Kabirajes or medical Practioners.
4.	Paga	Court of justice for women.
5.	Pena Kongba	Musicians and singers.
6.	Sagong sung	Overseers of the royal stables.
7.	Samoo sung	Overseers of elephants.
8.	Arangba	Butlers.
9.	Thangja panaba	Overseers of black-smiths.
10.	Boladeb Seina	Overseers of firewood.
11.	Phauroogba	Overseers of rice.
12.	Toomjaroongba	Overseers of salt.
13.	Poogay	Charge of money-chest.
14.	Maiba tal	Strike the gongs.

* Page 39.

15.	**Dulai baba**	...	Chaprasis and messengers.
16.	**Apalba**	...	Mounted troops.
17.	Sebok achamba	...	Raja's sword-bearers.
18.	Oosaaba	...	Carpenters.
19.	Lauroongba	..	Cultivators.
20.	Thangjaba	.	Working blacksmiths.
21.	Konyoung	.	Jewellers and workers in brass.
22.	Koodumba	...	Bone-setters.
23.	Ahaiba	...	Metal-casters.
24.	Sunglel	..	Cutchery work.
25.	Sungooba	...	Cutchery work.
26.	Lai kai	.	House-builders.

Other sections are the Phoongnai and Potsungba, who were originally the Raja's slaves, and the Ayokpa and Kei, who are converted Nagas. These seem, however, to be mere functional groups. which can intermarry and eat with one another, whose very names will probably be forgotten, now that the lalup system on which they were based has been abolished. The Manipuris are further divided into different sections called *Imnak*, some of which are debarred from intermarriage with others. The whole caste system of Manipur is, however, of comparatively recent growth, and there has not yet been time for the development of the excrescences and deformities which, in places like Bengal, have completely obscured the intentions of its founders. Even a Naga can become a Kshattriya and adopt the sacred thread, and in the second generation will be accepted as a full Hindu, and the religion and caste system of the Manipuris is thus a curious mixture of laxity and formalism.

Rajkumars. Some reference must now be made to the Rajkumars

though they are a caste in the sense in which that word is used in England, and not a caste as Hindus ordinarily understand that term. They are the descendants of the various Rajas of Manipur. Owing to the prevalence of revolutions there were many Rajas in the State, and as each Raja was generally a man of catholic heart, the total number of their descendants is extremely large. Prior to 1891, they were to some extent regarded as a privileged class, but even then many of them had sunk to the position of ordinary villagers. At the present day, the ordinary Rajkumar is a man of no influence or dignity, and is often an idle, discontented fellow, who would rather live by his wits than turn his hand to honest work. The custom with regard to royal marriages is, by the way, the exact converse of that which prevails in Europe. as the Raja, far from being prohibited from marrying a commoner, is not allowed to marry a Rajkumari.

Physical Appearan

The ordinary Manipuri is by no means an uncomely person. The men are tall, well built, and muscular, and do not generally run to fat. The complexion is usually fair, and the features often regular. In some the Mongolian strain is very marked, in others the finely-chiselled nose and well-set eyes suggest a completely different origin. Many of the Nagas too have regular features which do not in any way recall the Mongolian or Dravidian stock.

Moral Characteristics

From certain points of view there is much that is attractive about the Manipuris. They are clean and neat, dress themselves well, and live in excellent houses. Men and women alike are clever workmen, and they are fairly

ready to adopt new fashions. The women are shrewd and quick, and, though quiet enough in their manner, have none of that false modesty which seems so objectionable to European eyes. All this is fair enough but there is another side to the shield. Honour, even the honour that prevails amongst thieves, seems to be absolutely unknown to them. Their history is a painful record of feuds in which brother all too often met his death at his brother's hands. The patriarchal instinct is non-existent. There is no head of the family or clan round which the other members rally; *chacun pour soi* is the motto of all. Loyalty seems unknown. When a man is in power his fellows cringe before him; deprive him of his office and they spurn him. Calm and even-tempered they are generally cowards, though now and again displaying reckless courage. Their views with regard to the relations between the sexes are extremely lax. The man has to a great extent divested himself of the responsibility of providing for his children, and the question of their exact paternity is thus no longer a matter of vital interest. Most married women are said to have a paramour, most married men a mistress, and as long as there is no open scandal, the husband winks at his wife's diversions. The Manipuris seem to have little capacity for affection and it is dangerous to trust or rely on them in any way.

The hill tribes. The hill tribes fall into two main divisions, the Nagas and the Kukis. The Nagas numbered altogether in 1901 some 59,000 souls and are sub-divided into different tribes. Details for the population of each tribe in 1901 are unfortunately not forthcoming, and those

for 1881 are only estimates. The following figures are given by Captain Dun in his Gazetteer of Manipur* :—

Tankul and Lahupa	...	...	32,952.
Koirao (Mao Maram)	...	...	17,992.
Kaupui (Kapui)...	..	...	8,476.
Maring ...	...	...	484.

It is unnecessary to describe the manners and customs of these hill tribes here, as the whole subject is treated at length in the monographs which are now under preparation by Mr. Hodson. The Tankuls or Lahupas occupy the eastern hills. The men shave the hair on either side of the head and let it grow in a short stubble down the centre of the skull like a cock's comb, a curious custom which enables them to be distinguished at a glance from other hillmen. To the north the Tankuls carve out the hill sides into terraces on which they grow transplanted rice. To the south they follow the ordinary migratory system of cultivation known as *jhum*. The Koirao or Mao-Maram Nagas live in the north-west of the State, and closely resemble the Angami Nagas who adjoin them on the north. They wear the Angami kilt and grow their rice on terraces cut along the side of the hills. The Kapui Nagas occupy the hills between Cachar and Manipur. They sow their rice broadcast over the hills like most hill tribes, and are small men with no great muscular development. The men part and brush their hair with a neatness quite unusual in the ordinary savage, and plaster it down with grease till it shines again. The

* Page 28

toilet is completed by a Grecian fillet round the head, and the general effect is not unpleasing. Many of these Nagas are handsome men with regular features and Grecian noses, and have very little trace of the Mongolian in their physiognomy. Their houses have practically no walls, the roof, which is of a V shaped pattern, reaching to the ground on either side. The Marings are a small tribe who live to the south of the Tankul Nagas. They also are *jhum* cultivators, but, as they have comparatively little land, they are compelled to husband their resources. They are unable to shift their fields from year to year, so they cut an elaborate system of drains along the face of the hill, and thus check to some extent the tendency of the rain-water to carry off the surface soil. Like the Daflas they let their hair grow long and then coil it up into a knot over the forehead. The Aimols are another small Naga clan who live south of the Marings.

he Kukis. The Kukis live in the southern hills, and are pushing their villages into the Kapui country on the west and the Tankul country on the east. They are divided into two sections "old" and "new," and entered Manipur from the south, driven on by the great northward movement of the tribes which landed the Lushais in the hills that bear their name. They are divided into different clans called after the chief who was the original founder. The best known clans amongst the new Kukis are the Thado, Vungson, Changsen, Shingsol, Mangvung, Khlangam, Chungloe, Changput, Haukib, Simmte, and Kamhau. The old Kuki clans are the Kom, Anal, Namfau, Chim, Koireng, Chohte, Purum,

Mantak, and Hiroi. The Kukis are *jhum* cultivators and, as has been already seen, are the most turbulent of the hill tribes in Manipur. Other minor tribes are the Kom and Koireng who occupy the hills that overhang the valley near Moirang, and the Chirus who live in the hills to the west and south of the valley.

Religion: Hinduism.

In 1901, 60 per cent. of the population of the State described themselves as Hindus, 86 per cent. were animistic tribes, and nearly 4 per cent. Muhammadans. The Manipuris, like most new converts, are full of zeal for their religion. They are much under the influence of their priests, and in every Brahman's house in Imphal town there is a neat building used as a shrine for the presiding deity, and an open shed (*mandap*) where the villagers assemble for *sankirtan*, the songs and hymns which form so large a part in the ritual of the Vaishnavites. The houses of these Brahmans can be easily distinguished, as all round the shrine flags of white cloth cut into strange devices flutter from tall bamboos. The profane foot of a European must not enter even the compound of a Brahman, and, if he so much as steps on to the verandah of an ordinary villager, the house will be instantly abandoned and another erected in its place. The people abstain from liquor and intoxicating drugs, and will not touch animal food of any kind. The tulsi plant is carefully cultivated in the centre of each compound, and they are most particular with regard to the application of the *tilak* or mark which is peculiar to the Vaishnavites. At the same time they are free from those unwholesome ideas with regard to the treatment of their womenkind which have infected the Hinduism of

Bengal, and which are entirely opposed to what is known of the customs of the early Aryans. Early marriage and the purdah are unknown, and the Manipuri women enjoy fully as much freedom as their sisters in the hills. The rules of caste are also much relaxed. If a Manipuri Brahman marries a woman of a lower caste, their children still are Brahmans, while, still more wonderful, if a Brahman woman marries beneath her, she simply sinks to the position of her husband. There is no prejudice too against the sale of fish, an occupation which amongst most Hindus is restricted to the humblest castes, and even Brahman women are not above retailing this article of food in the bazar. On the other hand the Brahmans will not, as a rule, take water drawn by members of any other castes, though an exception is made in favour of a certain family of well-born Kshattriyas who act as water-carriers for the Raja. Like all good Vaishnavites the principal deity whom they adore is Krishna, who is worshipped under the name of Gobindji.

The new and the old Brahmans.

The nomination of the present Raja to the throne gave rise to some ill-feeling amongst the Manipuri Brahmans. The causes and consequences of this dispute were thus described in the Report submitted by the Political Agent for the year 1895-96.

"The dispute took its origin with the nomination of the present minor Raja to the Gaddi. He is a descendant (great-grandson) of a former Raja of Manipur, named Nur Singh, and when he and his family came into the possession of the idol Gobind, which is the god of the reigning Manipur Prince, the family priests or Brahmans were preferred to the Royal temple, and the former Brahmans who officiated in the post in continuity, with one short exception, since Manipur history takes count,

were dismissed. The latter became known as *Aribas*, and the new Brahmans as *Anoubas*, the distinguishing words meaning "old" and "new" respectively. The Aribas having held office under the royal patronage for so many years, were in the great majority; and naturally their disciples were in overwhelming numbers, as compared with the followers of the *Anoubas*. Notwithstanding this fact, the *Anoubas* were in a position to cause much trouble, for, as stated above, they were in possession of the Royal temple and its resident idol Gobind, and by the persons who were for this reason excluded from the religious observances at the temple, the disappointment was keenly felt. Then, again, the *Anoubas*, who for so many years had been passive, soon became aggressive, and every Manipuri village, large or small, throughout the valley was at once supplied with an *Anouba* Brahman from Imphal, whose chief aim was to wrest disciples from the opposition camp. Under the ordinary conditions of life, there would seem to be little or no harm in this action, but no better system of log-rolling disputes could be invented. Whatever may be the case in Hindu communities elsewhere, the Brahman priest among the Manipuris is a necessity, his services are always in request: at births, marriages, and deaths, at certain ages of the children, at feasts and holydays, at laying of foundation-stones, which in Manipur is the erection of the main posts of the new house, and on many other occasions the priest must attend. Without his presence all will not be well. Such being the state of society, party disputes on these important occasions are unseemly, and cause extreme irritation. Here family circles are large, and when the moment arrived for the call of a Brahman, there was generally some mischievous member ready to oppose the choice of the priest. In a family of almost all *Aribas*, i e., the disciples of an *Ariba* Brahman, this troublesome person would raise the question of inviting an *Anouba*, and peace and calm were at an end. Until the matter was settled by a competent authority, a marriage had to be postponed, or even a dead body had to wait removal to the funeral pyre.

It is said that this troublesome dispute has at last been closed.

Temples.

There are seven principal temples in the town of Imphal which are consecrated to Gobindji, Brindaban Chandra, Senamahi, Nityananda, Bijoy Gobinda, Ramji, Mahabali, and Kamakhya. The first two of these

temples are situated in the Rajbari, and all, except the last two, are mere temporary structures made of timber, bamboo, and thatch. Mahabali's temple is a small masonry building, and is better known for the grove by which it is surrounded, which is inhabited by swarms of monkeys who are regularly fed by the presiding priest, and for whose maintenance a monthly allowance of ten maunds of rice is given by the State. The shrine of Kamakhya is merely a roof supported on posts above the image. Prior to the disturbances of 1891 there were seven masonry temples in the town, but they lost their sanctity during the fighting that took place, and some of them have been since diverted to secular uses. The principal temple to Gobindji stands opposite to the old palace site, and consists of a square building with a porch supported on masonry pillars. In front of this porch there is an arcade, flanked with a square tower on either hand, in which nautches used formerly to be held. Another fine temple is the one which was dedicated to Brindaban Chandra. It is built in the form of a square tower, and was captured and held by the British troops during the fighting that took place in 1891.

Muhammadans. The Muhammadans of Manipur are, according to Brown,* the descendants of immigrants from the Surma Valley who married Manipuri women. Their ranks were further swelled by marriages between the female descendants of these people and Manipuris, at a time when the views on this subject were not so rigid as they are at the present day. Their maulavis are Manipuris, who have

* Page 41.

been sent to Cachar to be instructed in the principles of their faith by maulavis from Hindustan. They are said to be fairly well acquainted with the doctrines of their religion; they abstain from pork and bury their dead, but the rite of circumcision is only very imperfectly performed. There are no masonry mosques in the State, and foreign Muhammadans in Imphal have a separate maulavi of their own.

The religion of the hill tribes is of the usual animistic type. They seem to have vague ideas of a future life, and attribute the troubles that beset them in their earthly career to the machinations of evil spirits whom they endeavour to propitiate. For a fuller account of this subject reference should be made to the monographs on the hill tribes by Mr. Hodson. **Animi**

In 1901, there were eight Jains in the State who were merchants from Marwar, 145 Buddhists, most of whom were Nepalese, and 45 Christians. In 1894, a missionary came to Manipur and was allowed to make his headquarters at Ukrul amongst the Tankul Nagas. The people have not as yet shown any tendency to adopt the new faith, and, according to the census returns, there were only eight Native Christians in Manipur in 1901. **Other religi**

The occupations recorded at the last census were divided into no less than 520 different heads, details for which will be found in the second part of the Report on the Census of 1901. So elaborate a classification is, however, hardly suitable for a State like Manipur, and the figures would not repay detailed examination. No less than 87,504 women were shown as supported by the preparation of cotton cloth, but, though a very large **Occupations.**

quantity of cotton cloth of different kinds is produced in Manipur, most of these women workers are the wives or daughters of petty farmers, and nearly all of them are dependent on the land for their support. There are various other industries in the State which are described in Chapter V, but they are generally followed as a means of livelihood subsidiary to and supplemental to agriculture, and it would be difficult to ascertain the number of people actually working at these occupations. In 1901 the people were divided into the following eight main orders: Government, 3,337 or 1 per cent.; Pasture and agriculture 207,265 or 73 per cent.; Personal services, 1,257 or 0·4 per cent.; Preparation and supply of material substances, 62,988 or 22 per cent.; Commerce, transport and storage, 2,907 or 1 per cent.; Professions, 4,882 or 2 per cent.; Unskilled labour, not agricultural, 864, or 0·3 per cent.; Means of subsistence independent of occupation, 965 or 0·3 per cent.

es and ements.

Hockey on horseback is the national game of Manipur. According to one tradition the game was introduced by a Raja named Vakungba about 800 years ago, while others say that hockey was first played in the time of Gharib Nawaz in the latter half of the 18th century. In the Manipuri game there are seven players on each side: there are no goal posts, and a point is scored whenever the ball is hit across the back line of the opposing side. There are no rules against crossing or fouling, and, were it not for the size of the ponies used, serious accidents would be very common. The polo costume consists of a scanty dhuti well tucked up so that the thighs are almost bare, while the calves are protected by brightly

coloured woollen gaiters. The pony's bridle is adorned with big pompons of coloured cotton, and on either side of the saddle there are great curved shields of lacquered leather. The head of the stick is placed at an obtuse angle to the shaft, so that the players usually strike the ball while it is at a considerable distance to the right or left of the pony. A good Manipuri has an extraordinary command over the ball, and is also a great adept at dribbling. They have, however, very little idea of combination, and generally play an entirely selfish game. The Manipuris ride extremely light, and the pace which they succeed in knocking out of their tiny little ponies is most remarkable. Other outdoor sports are foot and boat-racing and wrestling which are thus described by Dr. Brown.*

Lumcl foot ra

This Lamchel is a competition between the different "Pannahs" or classes among the Manipuri population. The Brahmans, as also the lowest class of Manipuris, the Lois, are not allowed to compete, but Musalmans may. The distance run by the competitors is a straight course from the brick bridge formerly mentioned to the inside of the Raja's enclosure; the distance is under half a mile. The first of the races consists of trials of speed by two pannahs at a time: the winners in these races run again when all have had their trial, and the first man in of the whole wins the race of the year. The first man receives as his reward sundry presents, and is excused from all forced labour or lalloop for the rest of his life; he becomes a hanger-on about the Raja usually after his victory. Old winners are allowed to run again for the honour of the thing: when they win more than once, they get presents. The first in at the preliminary races between the Pannahs are allowed three months' exemption from lalloop. These races cause great competition, and for months before they come off, various lanky-looking men, with a scanty proportion of clothing, may be seen

* Page 35.

morning and evening trotting along the roads, getting themselves into training for the important event.

The Raja is always present at these and the other games, seated in a sort of gateway which bounds the straight road along which the races are run.

ssling. After the races there is an exhibition of wrestling: this presents nothing very peculiar; the only thing that need be mentioned regarding it is a curious custom that prevails. The victor over the wrestler who competes with him, before salaming to the Raja, leaps up in the air, alighting on his left foot; as he descends he gives his right buttock a resounding slap with his right hand: having thus asserted his superior skill he makes his salaam in the usual manner.

Hee- or boat The boat races occupy three days in September, and take place on the moat which surrounds on three sides the Raja's enclosure. This ditch is about 25 or 30 yards broad, and, at the season when the boat races come off, contains plenty of water. This festival is the most important held in Manipur, and great preparations are made for it; stands are erected on both sides of the moat, the one for the Raja being of considerable size and height. The women occupy stands on the opposite side of the moat. The boats used in the races are two in number, one of great length and hollowed out of a single tree; the rowers number about 70 men, each with a short paddle. Besides the rowers are several men attending to the steering, and urging on the crew. One of these stands in the front of the boat, and, leaning on his paddle, encourages the efforts of the men by stamping violently with his right foot at intervals. The race itself differs from most boat-races in the fact that here the great object is for the one boat to foul the other and bore it into the bank, so that one side of the boat is disabled, the men not being able to use their paddles; the boats are thus always close together until at the finish, when the race is usually won by a foot or two only. the distance paddled is about a quarter of a mile. Each race is rowed twice, whichever wins, and the results are carried on from year to year. As in the Lumchel, the competitors are men belonging to the different Pannahs. There are no rewards for the races, they being rowed merely for the honour of the thing. The Raja in his boat, which is like the others, but ornamented with a carved deer's head and horns gilt at the prow, accompanies the race; the Raja on the chief race-day steering his own boat in the dress formerly alluded to. McCulloch mentions in his account that the boat-race is not a fair race but a struggle between the rowers on either side, in which those who can deal the hardest blows are usually the victors. That fights occasionally

happen is correct, but they arise from accidental causes and are really not a premeditated part of the performance. While the boats are paddling down to the starting-place, a good deal of chaffing, flinging of weeds, water, etc., between the rival boats takes place, but all seems to be conducted in a good-humoured manner."

The moat is now quite dry, and boat-races can only take place on the river when they are full of water in the rains.

The Manipuris are fond of cards and chess, but the most popular of all indoor games is *Kangsanaba*. The following description of this game and of the great Manipuri epic is taken from the Account of the Valley of Manipur by Major McCulloch* :— **Indoor games.**

" It is played only in the spring, the players being generally young women and girls, with usually a sprinkling of men on each side. The game seems to cause great excitement, and there is great emulation between the sides. The Kang is the seed of a creeper; it is nearly circular, about an inch and a half in diameter and about three-quarters of an inch thick. This is placed on the ground upright, at one time with its broad side towards the party by whom it is to be struck, at another edgewise. When the Kang is placed with its broad side to the party, it is to be pitched at with an ivory disk; when it is placed edgewise, it is to be struck by the disk propelled on its flat side along the surface of the ground by the force of the middle finger of the right acting off the forefinger of the left. A good player can propel the disk in this way with great force and precision. The side having most hits wins. The whole is closed by a feast at the expense of the losers. Conundrums are a fertile source of amusement They appear usually far-fetched, and sometimes not over delicate. The tale of Khamba and Thoibee, sung by their *essesukpa* or bards, never fails, with a popular singer, to rivet attention. The scene of this tale and the place where it was originally sung is Moirang. The hero and heroine are persons said to have flourished hundreds of

* Page 26.

years ago. Thoibee is the daughter of the Moirang chief's brother. She loves Khamba, a lad poor in worldly riches, but rich in personal beauty, of good descent, great modesty, courage, strength and agility. Thoibee herself is a young lady of unsurpassed beauty, and Khamba having seen her by chance while boating on the Loktak, loves her at first sight. But the course of true love never yet ran smooth, and it was no exception with these lovers. A person named Kong Yangba saw Thoibee's love for Khamba, and wishing to gain her for himself, he used all the means that a powerful connection gave him to crush Khamba. The various perils through which Khamba has to pass, and the constancy of Thoibee, form the subject of the song. After having won his foot-race, speared his tiger, caught a wild bull, and been tied to the foot of an elephant, Khamba gains Thoibee, who also passed through various troubles. The end is tragical. Khamba doubts his wife, and wishing to try her fidelity, she, not knowing who he was, spears him. Having discovered what she had done, she spears herself. Some of the characters introduced in the story are very good. The constant repetition of this tale only seems to increase the desire to hear it."

Dances.

The Manipuris and Nagas are very fond of dancing. The steps are generally simple, and there is a good deal of circling about and wheeling in and out, the evolutions having some resemblance to those performed by a Greek chorus. The hands are almost invariably carried at the level of the shoulder, with the fingers pointing upwards. The orchestra consists of one or more drums and perhaps a string instrument or two, and the performers keep time to the music. In one of the nautches the dresses used are extremely bright and picturesque. The bodice is of emerald-green satin covered with silver sequins. The under-skirt is of scarlet cloth in which small pieces of looking-glass have been inserted to catch the light, the over-skirt of a silvery muslin. The Nagas too wear bright-coloured cloths at their dances, and strange ornaments on their heads,

while the men keep time to the music with bill-hooks in their hands.

The Manipuris burn their dead, but differ from other Hindus in placing them in an open coffin on the funeral pyre. The *sradh* ceremony, as is only natural amongst a people who are so completely under the influence of their priests, is a very heavy charge upon the next of kin. A *sankirtan* party is always in attendance, and people occasionally dissipate almost the whole of their property on gifts to the presiding priests. Ordinary Manipuris, as they claim to be Kshattriyas, celebrate the *sradh* on the thirteenth day after the death occurs.

Ceremo[nies] in con[nec]tion wi[th] death.

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTS.

Rice—Irrigation and floods—Sugar-cane—Fibres—Other crops—Jhum and *terraced cultivation—Live stock—Farm implements—Forests.*

Agriculture: THE staple crop of the valley is rice, which falls into three main divisions: *lingba* or transplanted rice; *dumahi* or high land broadcast rice; and *daotubi* which is a form of *aman*. There are no crop statistics available, but it is thought that about 85 per cent. of the total area under rice is *lingba*, about 12 per cent. *dumahi*, while the comparatively insignificant remainder is *daotubi*.

Lingba or transplanted rice is first sown in little beds or nurseries. The land is broken up in April or May, is ploughed five or six times till the ground is reduced to a puddle, and is carefully manured with cowdung and sweepings. The size of the nursery varies with the area to be planted out, but generally stands to the rice-fields in the proportion of 1 to 16. The seed, which has been selected from the largest ears of the previous year's crop, is steeped in water for two or three days, allowed to germinate, and then sown

broadcast over the bed in May and June. It comes up a rich emerald green, and at the beginning of summer these patches of brightest green herbage are a striking feature in the rural landscape. In the meanwhile the fields are being got ready for the reception of the seedlings. The husbandman starts ploughing as soon as the soil is softened by the spring rain, and repeats the process from four to eight times till he has reduced the land to a rich puddle of mud. After the third ploughing the field is harrowed, and the little embankments, a few inches high, intended to retain the water are repaired. When the seedlings are about seven or eight weeks' old, they are taken from the nursery-bed and carried in large bundles to the field. Here they are planted out in handfuls, each of which contains four or five plants. The distance at which these are planted from one another depends upon the fertility of the soil, and upon whether the work is done towards the beginning or end of the season. Transplanting goes on from the beginning of July to the middle of August. The work is of a most arduous description and involves stooping for hours in a field of liquid mud, but the Manipuris believe in the principle of co-operation. The bachelors and unmarried girls in the village combine to plant out the different little holdings, and with their songs and laughter strive to turn a tedious duty into an occasion of much fun and merriment. In places where the water lies too deep to allow of the plants being properly transplanted, the seed is scattered broadcast and sinks to the bottom and takes root. Before the end of the rains the crop is fully grown, though the ears are still empty; but about

the beginning of October they begin to fill and the field to turn to a rich yellow. From the middle of November to the middle of December harvesting is going on. The work is carried out by men and women alike. The plants are cut off close to the earth, and left in the fields for a few days to dry. When they are ready the grain is threshed out on a big mat. While the threshing is going on, song are sungs, and prayers are offered up to God begging him to increase the produce of the fields. The grain is then carried home in baskets and stored in large bins made of bamboo mats. The richer men keep their rice in separate granaries, which are raised well above the ground from fear of damp. The straw is not wasted, as is usual in Assam, but is stacked and used as fodder for the cattle.

Dumahi and Daotubi. *Dumahi* is grown on land which is too high for transplanted paddy. Ploughing begins in May and is repeated six or seven times. The seed is sown broadcast in June, and the crop is harvested in September. No *ails* are thrown up to retain the water, and very little weeding is done. *Daotubi* is sown broadcast about the end of June, and ripens about the beginning of December. It is grown in every part of the valley in the low land that surrounds a *bil*, but the total area under this crop is comparatively small.

Irrigation and floods. The people are fully alive to the advantages of irrigation, and, near the foot of the hills, carry the water of the hill streams to their fields. In the lower part of the valley channels are often dug to bring the water from the rivers on to the land. This system of irrigation does not, however, render them independent of the

rainfall, as, if the rivers are low, the water does not enter these channels; and a dry season in Manipur often means a short crop. Floods occasionally do damage, and the sections of the rivers passing through Imphal *panna* are protected by embankments. In 1898, there was a serious flood. No less than 39 inches of rain fell in the two months of May and June; the river bunds were breached, and the polo ground went several feet under water. Deer and pig also injure the crop, especially in the southern part of the valley near the Loktak, and, if the weather is too damp and cloudy, insects attack the plants and sometimes do much damage. There are many different kinds of rice, but the following are the six best grades, ranged in the order of merit: *kumbhi*, *foiel*, *noining*, *gobinda bhog*, *laikhuram foi*, and *chahow*.

Sugarcane The only variety of sugarcane raised in Manipur has a hard red stem and is known as *chu*. A small patch of cane is often to be seen within the high mud walls that enclose the Manipuri homestead, but the total area under sugar is probably not large. The crop is propagated from the tops of the best canes which are cut off at harvest time and kept in a shady place. One of these tops yields on the average about five canes, and as they contain but little juice, the cultivator does not sacrifice much of the gross product of his fields in the cause of reproduction. The land is hoed up till it is reduced to a fine tilth, and the tops planted in trenches between April and June. While the crop is growing it is continually hoed and weeded, and about August the leaves should be tied up round each cluster of canes, though this troublesome precaution is occasionally neglected. The earth

from the ridges is heaped about the roots to strengthen their hold upon the soil, and this process is continued until the relative positions of ridge and trench are reversed, and the canes stand upon the ridges with trenches in between.

Preparation of molasses.

The cane is pressed in the old-fashioned wooden mill. This consists of two wooden rollers fixed side by side in a trough hollowed out of a heavy block of wood. The tops of the two rollers pass through a hollow beam supported by uprights let through the lower block of wood into the ground, and are cut into the form of screws which fit into one another. To one of these rollers is affixed a pole which is driven round in a circle, and thus causes the rollers to revolve. The motive power is usually supplied by bullocks or buffaloes, and occasionally by the villagers themselves. The mill requires rather more knowledge of carpentry for its production than the other implements of agriculture and can only be made by the more skilful of the villagers. The cane is placed between the rollers and crushed as it is slowly forced through. Each handful is passed through the mill three or four times till nothing but foam appears. The juice trickles from the trough into the earthen pot or kerosine-oil tin placed in a hole below it, and from thence is transferred to a large earthenware vessel. It is boiled over a furnace dug in the ground, with two holes in the top for the reception of iron cauldrons. The Manipuris only boil the juice till it attains the consistency of treacle, and eat or sell it in this condition; but the Musalmans continue the process till it turns into thick molasses. A few iron Bihia mills have been

introduced into the State, but they are rather heavy to transport, and as the area of any given patch of cane is small, this is a serious drawback.

Very little jute is raised in Manipur, and the only fibre of importance is cotton, which is extensively cultivated by the hill tribes, and is sometimes grown on the low hills in the valley. It is generally sown in *jhums* from which a crop of rice was taken in the previous year. The ground is hoed up and the seed sown in February or March. The fields are weeded in April and May, and the cotton plucked in September and October. There are three flushes of which the second is the best. Heavy rain injures the crop and a hailstorm sometimes destroys it altogether. **Fibres.**

The other crops grown in Manipur are of little importance from a commercial point of view. Mustard is sown inside the house enclosure or on the high land in the neighbourhood. A little *til* is also grown, but the total quantity exported is quite insignificant. Matikalai, which furnishes the staple kind of *dal* used by the people, peas, chillies, cabbages, and other kinds of vegetables are grown on high land. The Manipur potato is a small red tuber, but the Naini Tal varieties which have recently been introduced at Kangjupkul are doing well. Oats and wheat have been tried and proved successful. When an *atta*-eating regiment was stationed in the valley, the Manipuris grew a considerable quantity of wheat, and foreigners set up water-mills to convert it into flour; but on its relief by a Gurkha regiment the people were left without a market for their grain, and the area under wheat again sank to a very small figure. Of plantains **Other crops**

there are seven or eight varieties but none are of good quality. The trees die down in the winter time, and in March are cut away, to allow a new shoot to spring up from the old stock. The areca nut will not grow in the valley, and the pan vine (*piper betle*) has unusually small leaves. A larger variety of pan is, however, grown in the valleys that intersect the hills. The plants are trained-up trees, as is the custom in the Assam valley, and are not grown in enclosed gardens after the fashion followed by the Baruis of Bengal. When the soil and climate are favourable pan is an extraordinarily profitable crop, and some Naga villages in the valleys of the Barak and Irang are said to make as much as Rs. 200 per house per annum from pan alone. Oranges, pine-apples, and jack fruit thrive in the valley, but limes do not do well. Mangoes blossom and fruit luxuriantly, but the worm which ruins this fruit in Assam does not spare it in Manipur. There are, however, a few late-bearing trees and they yield excellent fruit. Various kinds of English fruit trees have been tried but so far have not proved particularly successful.

Tobacco. Tobacco is cultivated as a garden crop. The seedlings are raised in carefully-manured beds in August and September. At the beginning of November they are transplanted into ground which has been reduced to a fine tilth, and protected from the sun by little sections of the plantain trunk. The bed is lightly hoed up two or three times, and not more than ten or twelve leaves are allowed to grow on each plant, the remainder being picked off as they appear. The leaves are gathered in February and March, and there is a second but

much inferior crop about two months later. If required for chewing they are dried under a shed, or else pressed into a hollow bamboo and allowed to ferment. When the tobacco is destined for the pipe, the leaves are piled up in heaps till they ferment, cut up and mixed with molasses, and are then ready for the hookah.

The ordinary methods of cultivation practised in the hills is the system known as *jhum*. The jungle growing on the hill side is cut down and burned between January and March. The seeds of hill rice, millet, and Job's tears are dibbled in amongst the ashes, and while the crop is growing it is weeded once or twice. The millet is harvested in July, the rice in November, and the Job's tears in the following months. Chillies, pumpkins, and *til* are also grown in the *jhums*, and cotton is a very important crop. Cultivatio in the hill. The jhum

The system of *jhum* cultivation has many drawbacks. The crop is entirely dependent on the rainfall for the moisture it requires to bring it to maturity, much time and trouble has to be expended in the clearing of the *jhums*, and the amount of land required is very large. A *jhum* is, as a rule, only cultivated for two seasons in succession, and then allowed to fallow for seven or eight years. After the second year the yield falls off and the weeds spring up and choke the crop. There is a risk too that the roots of the scrub jungle may be killed, and the land depends to some extent for its fertility on the growth of this young jungle and its subsequent conversion into a bed of ash manure. A village thus requires of culturable land about five times the area actually under cultivation at any given time, and the outlying *jhums* of large

communities must of necessity be sometimes situated at a considerable distance from the village site.

he terraced ultivation the Mao-aram and ankul agas.

A *jhum*, with crops springing up amongst the ashes and the charred stumps of the trees, is undoubtedly a primitive form of cultivation, which is only possible in a very sparsely peopled country. The terraced cultivation of the Mao-Maram and Tankul Nagas discloses a capacity for continuous and sustained hard work which is seldom found in a community of semi-savages. The slopes of the hills below their villages are cut out into a succession of terraces, which are irrigated from the hill streams, whose water is carefully distributed through little channels over every step in the series. Where the slope is fairly gentle, these terraces are sometimes nearly twenty yards in breadth and not more than two feet high, but fields as large as this are by no means common. The average terrace is more than three feet high and is not more than three or four yards wide, and is often built up with stone retaining walls. In places these stone walls are as much as five feet high, in places the terraces are not more than two feet wide, and, as they have to follow the contour of the hill side, they are never of any considerable length.

An ample supply of water is an absolute necessity for terraced cultivation, and, where this is to be had, fields are cut out on slopes which are almost precipitous in their steepness. Sometimes the terraces are simply cut out of the earth and are not faced with stone. The initial labour required to make these terraced fields is very great, but once made they give less trouble than a *jhum*. They are close to the village site, jungle clearing

and weeding are not necessary, and where they are irrigated from perennial springs the crop is absolutely sure and is not affected by variations in the rainfall. *Jhum* rice also does not do well at elevations of more than 4,000 feet above the sea, and, were it not for their terraces, many of the Mao-Maram Nagas would have to subsist on millet and Job's tears. This irrigated rice is raised in the same way as the *sali-dhan* of Assam. The soil is thoroughly saturated with moisture and then hoed up till it is reduced to a rich puddle. The rice has in the meanwhile been sown on the hill side, and, when the plants are from a month to six weeks' old, they are transplanted into the fields. Harvesting goes on in December, and the ears are cut off short by the head and threshed in the field before being carried up to the village.

The cattle are strong, hardy, little animals much Liv superior to the cattle of the Surma Valley or Assam. They are probably akin to the Burmese breed, as the best animals are said to come from Kakchingkunao at the southern end of the valley. A bull costs from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30, a bullock from Rs. 25 to Rs. 35, and a cow from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25. Some of the best cows are said to yield as much as three or four seers of milk. The buffaloes are also very fine animals and are used to drag the plough as well as for dairy purposes. Considerable herds of them are kept by Nepalese settlers at the northern end of the valley, and a special reserve has recently been set apart for these herdsmen in the Khoga Valley south of Moirang, to avoid the endless disputes which have been caused by the animals damaging the crops, when

graziers were allowed to settle in the neighbourhood of villages. Grazing fees are levied on foreign herdsmen at the rate of annas 8 for each buffalo and annas 4 for each smaller head of horned cattle. Cow buffaloes can be purchsed near Kanglatombi for from Rs. 35 to Rs. 50, while a bull costs rather less. In the centre of the valley the prices are a little higher. Both cattle and buffaloes find a ready sale in Cachar, when exported to that district, and the sturdy little breed of bullocks has done much to develop the export trade along the cart road to Assam. The cattle are grazed in swamps and on the hills, and sometimes on rice straw, and there is not, as a rule, any dearth of suitable pasture. The Lamphel and Taiel *bils* near Imphal have been specially reserved as grazing grounds. Goats are not numerous, and the only sheep in Manipur are a few that are kept for the consumption of the European residents. Poultry, like most other living things, do very well in Manipur. A really first-class Manipuri pony is a splendid little creature, but good animals are unfortunately very rare. They are generally below twelve hands in height, but they have remarkable speed, courage, and endurance, and will carry a heavy man for many miles over rough or hilly country. Under native rule no attempt was made to regulate the breeding of the ponies; a good animal was generally appropriated for the Raja's stable, and, even as long ago as 1859, McCulloch wrote that the genuine Manipuri horse had nearly disappeared. In 1839, the Raja was presented with an Arab stallion and eight mares, but Arabs cannot thrive in the damp climate of Manipur, and the imported stock died out. At present

there are two stallions kept by the State, one a Burmese and one a small Australian.

The farm implements, as in the rest of the Province, are simple and inexpensive. The plough consists of a curved piece of wood, the front of which is shod with iron, fitted with a pole when drawn by a pair of bullocks, or a pair of shafts if intended for a buffalo. The harrow is a long-toothed rake drawn over the fields by a bullock, though sometimes its place is taken by a heavy log, which presses down weeds and rice alike. The rice springs up again on the following day, but the weeds droop and die. The hoe that is used to trim the *ails* in the paddy fields has a long but very narrow blade. The *chawuing* or flail is like a wooden fork, with the handle bent at an angle of about 120 degrees. The handle is about 27 inches long, the prongs of the fork about 26. When the *dhan* has been threshed it is thrown into the air from a long-handled wooden shovel (*pho in cho*) and winnowed with a mat. It is then placed in large baskets and dragged to the homestead on a wheel-less sledge. For husking grain the Manipuris follow the fashion prevalent in the hills, and use a pestle and mortar instead of the *dhenki* of the Assam Valley.

The following account of the forests of Manipur is reproduced from the Gazetteer of Captain Dun:—

"The whole of the hill ranges lying between the valleys of Cachar and Manipur, and far to the north and south, are densely clothed to their summits with tree-jungle. Almost the only exception to this has been already stated in the description of the Manipur Valley, and refers to the hill slopes facing it. These slopes have been steadily cleared of their timber, and present a denuded appearance. The tree-forest presents a great variety; and in the ranges lying west of the Manipur

Valley there are large forest tracts of trees comprising Nagesar, Jarul, India-rubber, Tun, Oak, Ash, etc. Fir trees do not exist in the hills immediately adjoining the Cachar road.

Bamboo of the commoner kinds is plentiful between Cachar and Manipur. On the higher ranges to the north ringals and thorny bamboos are found. Round all the villages in the north-east portion of the hill territory the giant variety is grown, but is not common in other parts of the State.

In the Yomadung range, lying between Burma and Manipur, the jungle is much more open, very large trees are rarer than either towards the west or north, and the bamboo is confined to the low-lying ground and ravines. Fir trees are occasionally seen, but are not plentiful. The tea-plant is found in this range, and apparently spreads over a large area. Teak is common to the slope overlooking the Kubo Valley. The cinchona would most likely grow well on the slopes of the hills, especially those lying nearest to the Manipur valley and in the Hirok range. The tea-plant is common in the hills to the north. The only part of the immense forest tracts which are utilised are those of the Jiri forest and the hill slopes lying nearest to the valley. From the hills to the south of the valley, most of the wood used in building is obtained; some of the varieties are said to be proof against the ravages of the white-ant. From a tree found to the north-east in the hills in considerable numbers, a black resinous fluid is obtained, which is used for japanning by the Manipuris. The fir tree is found to be highly resinous, and the trees are of large size. Near the salt wells to the north-east of the valley, on the first low range of hills rising from it are numerous clumps of firs. To the south, the fir is plentiful. Palm trees are found in the eastern slope of the Yomadung range, near Tammu in Burma, where a few supari trees grow; on the Kaupum peak and the Nunjaibong range, where the fan palm is plentiful; and all over the hills on the north and east, where a kind of palmetto is common.

The wood most in request among the Manipuris is one they call U-ningthau. Wild apricot, plum, apple, and pear are common both in the valley and on the hills, and the willow is found in many places in the north.

The Somra basin and the valley to the north of it contain magnificent forests of the *Pinus longifolia.*

The red rhododendron is found all over the hills to the north and a white-flowered kind is found in a few places.

Perhaps the commonest tree about Mao and the southern spurs from Khunho is a tree which both in leaf, fruit, and habitat closely resembles the alder."

The forests between Cachar and the Manipur Valley are managed by the Forest Officer of Cachar, 25 per cent. of the gross receipts being retained by Government on account of management charges. The trees are felled by Nagas, Kukis, Kacharis and Mahimals, and dragged by elephants to the nearest navigable river, down which they are floated to a check station in Cachar. The timber finds a ready market in the Surma Valley. The following trees are exported in considerable quantities: Nagesvar (*mesua ferrea*), jarul (*lagerstraemia flos reginae*), gundroi (*cinnamomum glanduliferum*), rata (*dysoxylum binectariferum*), kurta (*isonandra polyantha*), poma (*cedrela toona*), joki (*bischoffia javanica*) tailo (*castanopsis indica*), sundi, karal (*dipterocarpus sp.*), jam (*schima mollis*), ping (*cynometra polyandra*), cham (*artocarpus chaplasha*), tula, bora, ramdalu, haludchaki, gomari (*gmelina arborea*), jhalna (*terminalia bicolorata*), jinari (*podocarpus bracteata*), sutrang, caddum (*anthocephalus cadamba*), dumbhoil and moroi (*albizzia odoratissima*).

CHAPTER V.

INDUSTRIES.

Weaving—Silk—Working in metals—Leather work—Mats—Carpentering—Dyes—Salt—Iron—Limestone—Copper.

THE Manipuris are neat and clever work people, who supply most of their own wants, and much of the clothing used by the hillmen. Were it not for the isolation of the valley, which cuts its inhabitants off to a great extent from outside markets, they could largely add to their resources from their industries. The following is an account of the more important of them.

Weaving. Weaving is a most important industry in Manipur. The cotton employed is grown on the surrounding hills, is sold in the raw in considerable quantities at the various bazars situated in the valley, and is ginned and spun into thread by the women themselves. The processes of spinning, cleaning, and weaving are described at length in the Monograph on the Cotton Fabrics of Assam printed at the office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, in 1897, but the accounts are far too long to admit of their reproduction here. Two kinds of loom are used, the ordinary four-poster loom of the Brahmaputra

Valley and the smaller kind that is used by the Bhutias and other hill tribes of Assam. Description of instruments and of mechanical processes of this nature are of little general interest, and are hardly intelligible unless accompanied by diagrams. Those curious in the matter would do well to consult the monograph to which reference has been already made, where the whole question is discussed in the minutest detail. The four-poster loom and the whole process of weaving is described on pages 30-49, and the smaller loom on pages 77 and 78.

Cotton Cloths. The cloths produced are of excellent quality and are extraordinarily cheap. Cotton cloth can be bought in the Imphal bazar for less than a halfpenny a square foot.* The fabric is a little rough, as home-made fabrics usually are, but it is strong and stout, and weighs an ounce or a little more to the square foot. It is obvious that it would be impossible to produce hand-woven cloths at a profit at such rates with hired labour, but the industry is carried on by the women in their leisure hours, and even the smallest return above the actual cost of the materials is regarded as so much gained. The raw cotton has generally to be purchased, but apart from this there is absolutely no cash expenditure. The loom and other implements of the craft suffer from wear and tear, but the greater part of the loom is usually made at home. Dyed cloths are generally a little dearer, but do not show the dirt so soon, a quality which commends them

* The actual prices paid for two cloths purchased, for certainly not less than ruling rates, was ·43 and ·58 of a penny per square foot. The former cloth weighed 1oz. per square foot, the latter 1·2 oz.

to the native purchaser. The cotton fabrics offered for sale in the afternoon bazar include *faneks*, or women's frocks, of different colours, though the prevailing pattern is a narrow blue and white stripe, and *dhotis* and coats for men. There are shawls of every size, thickness, and colour, though white is the one most generally in request, and brightly-dyed rugs to catch the hillman's eye. Some of them are white, with red or blue and yellow stripes, some red and blue, and others checks and tartans. On other stalls will be found mosquito curtains and delicate muslin wraps which the women wear over their shoulders when in evening dress. A full list of the cotton fabrics produced in Manipur will be found in the monograph to which reference has been already made, (pages 151-168).

The Manipuri silk-worms are of two varieties, *hanjanbi* and *laimerol*, and differ both from the *pat*, *muga*, and *eri* of Assam and the *tussur* silk of Bengal. Both kinds are reared indoors and are fed on the leaves of the mulberry, or, failing that, on the leaves of two trees called by the Manipuris *wainu* and *lou*. The eggs of the *hanjanbi* take ten or twelve days to hatch, the caterpillar attains its full development in three weeks, when it is above 2¼ inches long, and another three days are required for the spinning of the cocoon. The moth hatches out after eight or nine days, and dies shortly after it has laid its eggs. The eggs of the *laimerol*, on the other hand, take nine or ten months to hatch, and the caterpillar two months more to attain to its full growth, when it is about three inches long. The latter variety can only yield one brood in the year, while the former gives some eight or nine,

as it does not breed during the three winter months. The silk of the *laimerol* is, however, superior both in quantity and quality to that of the *hajanbi*. The cocoons are boiled and the thread is then reeled off. Three qualities are recognised. The first is called *muga rel* and fetches about Rs. 18 a seer; the second, *longiai*, sells for Rs. 7-8 a seer; and the third quality, *pangang*, is only Rs. 2 a seer. The worms are delicate and are liable to epidemic diseases which sometimes carry off the whole brood. The principal centres of the industry are Kameng, Khurkhul, Phoyeng, Limareng, Kattumngjan, and Sagalmong. The total annual output is roughly estimated at some sixteen maunds, practically all of which is disposed of locally. Proposals have recently been made by Messrs. Anderson Wright and Coy. of Calcutta for the establishment of the silk industry in Manipur on a commercial scale, but the question is still under the consideration of the Government. The people are intelligent and industrious, and extremely anxious to make money, and anything which would add to their supply of ready cash would add materially to their comfort and do much to facilitate the administration of the State. The silk cloths which were given by the Raja to those of his officers who distinguished themselves in battle are well known. The body is generally green or red, and along each side runs a narrow border of embroidery. At either end there is a deep and very handsome border of silk embroidery, and a fringe of silk. These shawls when new cost Rs. 35, but the colours are then a little crude, and the cloths, like wine, improve with keeping.

Working in metals. Brass and bell-metal utensils are manufactured in the State, but in the villages they are by no means in general use, and they are not as cheap as most of the commodities of Manipur. Blacksmiths make daos, knives, *ploughshares, hoes, and other simple articles.* Really artistic daggers with brass sheaths and brass-mounted hilts can be obtained in Imphal. Iron implements can, however, be purchased at Lakhipur in Cachar for far less than they can be manufactured in the valley, and the demand is to a great extent met by imports from this district.

Stone vessels. Vessels of limestone are made near Bishenpur. A piece of rock is fastened to a spindle which is put in motion by alternately pulling and relaxing a cord wound round it. As the stone revolves a sharp iron tool is pressed against it, and the bowl hollowed out and shaped. A good-sized vessel is sold for two annas, a sufficiently small return on the time and trouble expended.

Leather work. In the time of Raja Kirti Chandra Singh (1850-1886 A.D.) some Manipuris were sent to Cawnpur to be trained in leather work, and at one time they could tan and work up leather with some skill. The industry has now fallen into decay, and the Manipuris get their leather from foreign *mochis*, and apply a black varnish which is obtained from the juice of a tree called *yang* which grows near the Burmese frontier.

Jewellery. There are said to be about 100 jewellers in Manipur, most of whom are members of the Kangbum, Torangbum, Koisam, and Kousam castes. The metal is obtained from Calcutta, and the articles prepared include necklaces, rings, bracelets and anklets, earrings, cups, dishes,

and pan cases and head ornaments. Manipuri jewellery is generally cheap and showy and often consists of baser metals overlaid with the thinnest washing of gold. Brass bracelets and armlets are also manufactured for the hill tribes.

The Manipuris are expert makers of different kinds of mats and baskets. The *kaunafak* which is used for sitting or sleeping is made from the *kauna* reed. The *tangdoufak* is a mat on which paddy is generally threshed and is made from *nal*. The *toufak* is also made from *nal*, and is a large mat which is used to make the bins in which paddy is stored. The *lah* and the *faklong* are two mats made of split bamboo. The same material is generally used for baskets, some of which are very neatly made, especially the *tappus* and *polans* or baskets in which the hill-men carry their loads. **Mat-making and baskets.**

The men are clever carpenters and will turn out excellent European furniture from a pattern. Neat carving is also done in horn and ivory, but these arts are at present in a very languishing condition owing to the absence of court patronage, though that perhaps is hardly the right term to use. The pottery of the country has not much to recommend it except its cheapness. Water jars and other vessels are manufactured, the principal centres of the industry being Chirel and Nangul. Good bricks are manufactured in the State, and excellent tiles were made by men who had received a lesson from the tile-makers of Upper India. **Carpentering, pottery, &c.**

Various kinds of vegetable dyes are found in Manipur which are freely used by the inhabitants of the State. The best authority on the subject is a Monograph on **Dyes and dyeing.**

Dyes and Dyeing in Assam by Mr. W. A. M. Duncan, published at the Shillong printing office in 1896. A full description of the various dyes and of the way in which they are used will be found in that work, and all that is necessary here is to give a list of the dyes found in Manipur, showing against each the Latin and the Vernacular name and the page of the monograph on which they are described. *Acanthaceae* (*khujum pereh*) used in conjunction with safflower, page 9; *Bixa Orellana* (*urei rum*) red or orange, page 14; *Carthamus Tinctorius* (*kusum*) pink or rose, page 17; *Fagopyrum Esculentum*, yellow, page 24; *Fibraurea Trotterii* (*napu*) yellow, page 25; *Garcinia Pedunculata* (*heibung*) a mordant, page 26; *Perilla Ocimoides* (*thoiding*) black, page 40; *Quercus Fenestrata* (*kuhi*) black, page 42; *Quercus Pachyphylla* used for dying and tanning, page 42; *Rubia cordifolia* (*moyum*) red, page 44; *Rubia Sikkimensis* (*moyum*) brilliant red, page 46; *Strobilanthes Flaccidifolius* (*Khuma, Khum, Kum*) for dyeing silk, page 48; *Symplocos Racemosa* (*Kairang*) mordant, page 50; *Tectona Grandis* (*chingjagu*) black, page 52.

Salt is the mineral deposit which is of most importance in Manipur. The following description of the salt wells which was given by Dr. Brown in 1869 is still correct at the present day.*

Sources of supply; wells.

The principal wells are situated at the foot of the hills to the north-east, about 14 miles from the capital; they are four in number, and are named as Ningel, Chandrakhong, Seekong and Waikhong; they all lie close together, and are surrounded by villages wherein reside those engaged in the salt manufacture.

* Page 22.

Wells have been opened in other parts of the valley, but the supply has not been remunerative.

Last year I paid a visit to two of the principal wells, Ningel and Chandrakhong, and the following description of the mode of manufacturing the salt, &c., may prove of interest: Ningel has three wells, all contained in a somewhat elevated dell of small dimensions, surrounded by a low range of hills covered with grass and scrub. **Descripti of the sal wells.**

It is stated by the Manipuris that the situation of an underground salt spring is discovered by the presence of a peculiar mist seen hanging over the spot in the early morning. When the sinking of a well is determined on, large trunks of trees are prepared by hollowing out into cylinders, which are sunk gradually until the water is reached. In the Ningel wells the depth at which water is found is about 35 to 40 feet and the wooden cylinders rest upon rock, the intervening stratum consisting chiefly of loose earth and boulders. In the oldest of the three wells at Ningel in which the cylinder has been sunk, it is said, for about 100 years, the wood has become entirely petrified throughout its whole substance, which is more than a foot thick. The others are only partially petrified, they being newer, and the supply of water being less. **How discovered a construct**

The soil and vegetation surrounding the wells shows nothing peculiar, and there is no appearance of any deposit of salt on or near the surface. **Appearan of soil and vegetatio near wells**

The water is drawn out by wicker buckets and emptied into large earthenware *ghurrahs* or hollowed-out trunks of trees placed by the side of the wells, from whence it is carried in smaller vessels to the boiling down sheds, situated some distance off. The water, as it is drawn, is quite clear, but from its being stored in mud tanks in the sheds, it soon becomes very dirty: this could easily be avoided, but the Manipuris do not seem to object to impurity, and it is positively relished by the hill-men. **Manufacture of sal**

There are in Ningel, to which this description applies, three boiling-down sheds, nearly always fully employed. The salt water is evaporated in small earthenware dishes, shallow and saucer-shaped. Before the water is poured into them they are lined with plantain leaves, to which the salt adheres, and the contents, when the salt has filled the dish, are thus easily removed. The pans, about 100 in number in each shed, are placed over little holes, and underneath is the fire, which is stoked at one end, the fuel used, as in the Sylhet lime kilns, being dry reeds. The attendants are constantly on the move supplying the pans with water, emptying, and filling them again. **Evaporati of the salt water.**

Chandrakhong salt wells. The Chandrakhong salt wells, two in number, are much the same as above and somewhat similarly situated, in a village about a mile to the north-west of Ningel. There is one peculiarity worth noting in Chandrakhong, that is, the existence of a fresh-water well in close proximity to the salt ones: this well requires constant pumping to prevent its diluting the salt water in the other wells; it would appear from the existence of this fresh-water well that the very edge of the salt deposit at this place has been struck in sinking. The salt water here does not seem to have the same petrifying power as that of Ningel, and the same observation holds good with regard to the other wells.

Fresh-water well in Chandrakhong.

Other wells. The other wells present no peculiar features. Seekong has four wells, Waikhong five; from this well a superior quality of salt is obtained, which is set aside for the Raja and his immediate retainers: it can, however, also be procured in the bazars at a slight advance on the price of the commoner sort: it only differs from it in being cleaner.

Ningel, the oldest well. Ningel is the oldest of the wells, and has always given the greatest yields.

In the days of native rule, salt was an important source of revenue. Foreign salt was scarce and costly, and the Brahmans were encouraged to declare that it could not be taken by a Manipuri without loss of caste. The industry was carried on by slaves, or by forced labour, but the work is hard and, when the *corveé* or *lalup* was abolished, difficulties were experienced in obtaining labour. The opening of the cart-road has cheapened foreign salt, which in January, 1905, was selling in Imphal bazar for seven pice a seer, as compared with the four annas charged for Manipuri salt. The old market women sometimes consult the feelings of the more conservative of their customers by mixing this foreign salt with a little dirt, and selling it in cakes similar in form to the cakes of Manipuri salt. The last few years have shown a serious decrease in the salt revenue of the State. In 1892-93, Rs. 13,800 were received

under this head; in 1903-04 the receipts were only Rs. 5,800. The wells in the valley are put up to public auction. In the hills, iron cauldrons are supplied by the State, for each of which rent is levied at the rate of Re. 1 per mensem.

Iron. Iron is found in the shape of small pisolitic nodules of hydrated oxide of iron intermixed with clayey matter. The best deposits have been discovered at Kameng, Kakchingkulen, and Kakchingkunao, and are generally at a depth of four or five feet below the alluvium. The Manipuris used to dig up these particles of ore, and after washing away the earthy matter, heated them in a fire of straw till they became red-hot. The ashes were winnowed off, the ore pounded till it was reduced to powder, and the powder smelted in a charcoal fire. It is said that the industry is now practically extinct and that foreign ore is almost invariably used by the local blacksmiths.

Limestone. There are small deposits of limestone near Shugunu and Bishenpur, but larger quantities are found about 35 miles north-east of Imphal on the road to Ukrul.

Copper and coal. Copper is found in the south-east corner of Manipur, between Moreh thana and Yangpopki, but is not worked. Coal has not yet been discovered in the valley. Good building stone is quarried from the hills. In Imphal itself there are some low hills which contain an unctuous clayey rock, which is eaten by women when in an advanced stage of pregnancy.

fluctuations. In February 1901, 17 seers of matikalai were to be had for a rupee, but in the same month, three years later, the price had fallen to 9 seers. The normal price seems to be about 11 seers for a rupee. Further details with regard to prices will be found in Table V. Hand-made cotton cloth is also extraordinarily cheap, and in the Manipur bazar stout cotton cloth can be bought at a half-penny the square foot. The one article of daily use that is dear in Manipur is the areca-nut, as it has to pay a heavy charge for transport. The usual market rate is from three to four pice a dozen, and as a Manipuri will often eat twenty in a day, it forms a serious item in the family budget.

Famine. Manipur has not actually suffered from famine within recent years, but no less than twice the condition of affairs was grave enough to be the cause of some anxiety. Much of the grain that had been reaped in the winter of 1890-91 was destroyed in the disturbances that took place, and, between August and November 1891, more than half the population were subsisting on a single meal a day, and began in consequence to show signs of emaciation. In 1896, there was again a scarcity due to the poor harvest reaped in 1894-95, and to the export of rice to Kohima along the cart road. In the middle of August, rice was practically unobtainable, and the price went up to Rs. 10 per maund. Fortunately the harvest was a good one, and, by the end of December, the price had fallen to Rs. 2-4, though that was very high for Manipur. It is far from likely that actual famine ever would occur, and the high prices asked in 1896 probably merely meant that no one had any surplus grain

to sell. The difficulties of supplying the State from outside would, however, be immense, as all the grain would have to be carried 134 miles from Dimapur, along a road which at present has to be closed to cart-traffic in the rains.

The staple food of the Manipuris is rice, of which they consume unusually large quantities. With their rice they generally take a dish of curried chillies, and they are very partial to dried fish, the local supply of which is supplemented by imports from Cachar. They also take milk, molasses, potatoes, and other vegetables, and are very fond of the areca-nut. The areca-palm unfortunately will not grow in Manipur, and many tons of these nuts are carried into the valley every year across the seven ranges of mountains that divide it from Cachar. *Ghi* they dislike, and flesh of every kind they eschew, denying themselves even the venison which is permitted to the Mahapurushiyas of Assam. They prefer their fruit as a rule unripe, and are very partial to lemons. There are two articles of diet, the *thoru* and *yungchak*, which are not usually seen outside Manipur. The *thoru* is an aquatic plant whose roots are eaten raw, and are rather like cocoanut though with a much fainter flavour. The *yungchak*, or monkey rice, resembles a giagantic pea pod. It is generally about one foot long but is very thin in proportion to its length. **Food.**

The ordinary Manipuri house is always built after the same pattern. It is raised a foot or so above the ground on a neat mud plinth, and is very long in proportion to its breadth; a typical house being 50 feet by 17. The front part of the dwelling consists of a porch **Houses.**

or deep verandah about 15 feet in depth, with walls on either side. It is kept scrupulously clean, and acts as a sitting-room for the family; but, if a European so much as puts his foot upon the plinth, the whole of the house will forthwith be abandoned. The posts and beams in the better houses are made of wood, the roof of thatch, the walls of split bamboo plastered over with mud. But what strikes a visitor from the Assam Valley is the extraordinary neatness of the whole building. There are no holes in the walls where the mud plaster has fallen off, the floor and walls of the porch are scrupulously *leeped*, the door is made of timber and is set in a neat frame of wood, and the whole place looks like the home of a man who takes a pride in himself and his surroundings. In front of the house is a piece of level ground which is carefully plastered with mud and cowdung, in the centre of which there is the sacred *tulsi* plant. Here the Manipuri offers up prayer to Heaven, and paints his caste mark on his forehead after taking food, and in the winter time he generally protects the shrub from frost by erecting over it a light shed of bamboo and thatch. Opposite the house there is a cowshed, or, in wealthier houses, a well-built barn with no wall on the side which faces towards the house. This is used as a sitting-room when guests are too numerous to be accommodated in the main dwelling, and as a place in which looms and similar articles of furniture can conveniently be stored. The premises are generally surrounded by a stout mud wall some four feet high, from which tall *ikra* shoots and effectually secures seclusion for the family. There is often too a hedge of bamboo round the garden, which is much more

neatly kept than the compounds of Assam. There is very little jungle, and the ground is covered with vegetables, tobacco, sugarcane, and even mustard and pulse. Such is the typical house in Imphal, and the houses of the villagers are built on the same plan, though they are smaller and generally not so neat.

But though the houses are well made, the furniture is, as a rule, extremely simple. Many people eat off plantain leaves, and in the house of the ordinary villager there are few brass or bell-metal utensils. This, perhaps, is due to the desire of being saved the labour of keeping the metal vessels clean, as the plantain leaf is simply thrown away after use, and the disagreeable process of washing up is thus avoided. The article of furniture in which the Manipuri takes most pride is his bed. The bedstead is made of wood, and in rich men's houses is very neatly carved. On this is placed a mattress, and the thickness of this mattress is a good clue to the wealth and position of the owner. A rich man's mattress is sometimes fully two feet thick, and is covered with a piece of red woollen cloth and a long-cloth sheet broad enough to reach to the ground on either side. For bed clothes they use blankets and Manipuri quilts, and the size of the mosquito curtains is another index of the prosperity of the owner of the house. At the side of this bed a mat is spread upon the floor on which either husband or wife sleep when they are ill, as it is thought that a sick man would be subject to attacks of vertigo if raised above the ground. Apart from this, there is very little in the way of furniture. There are mats and baskets, and perhaps a box or two in the houses

Furniture

of the poorest, and well-to-do people will have a few chairs and tables, but chairs do not, as a rule, commend themselves to the Manipuri.

Dress. The Manipuris are a well-dressed people, and even when their wardrobe is not large they try to look as clean and smart as possible. The ordinary dress of a villager is a *dhoti* and a sheet, but in Imphal town shirts and coats are coming into use. In the cold weather most men use a padded cotton quilt as a wrap, and padded coats are also sometimes worn. The ordinary dress of a woman is a cloth called *fanek* folded round the bust and reaching to the feet, while a cotton shawl is thrown over the head and shoulders. In addition they sometimes wear a short jacket which is often made of satin or velvet. The *faneks* are generally made of a striped material, and have a neat border at the top and bottom of embroidered silk. They are, however, strained tightly across the bosom and thus completely spoil the shape of the bust. On *gala* days the *faneks* of the well-to-do are of a bright and pretty pattern, and across the shoulders girls wear nothing but a gauzy wrap of delicate and transparent muslin; a costume which is not unlike a rather low-cut Empire gown. In the days of the late Rajas special merit was rewarded by the right to wear a particular kind of coat or cloth. The silk shawls bestowed on those who distinguished themselves in battle are extremely handsome. The body is red or green, and at either end there is a very deep border of embroidered silk. Men generally wear their hair short, with the exception of the little lock at the back of the scalp which is preserved by all devout Vaishnavites. Unmarried

girls wear their hair long behind. In front it is plastered down over the forehead in a deep fringe which reaches almost to the eyebrows; and, not content with this, they let it hang in a sort of fringe at the side of the head over the cheeks and ears. The effect is thus exactly that of an Egyptian mummy. When a girl is betrothed, this fringe cannot be cut without the consent of the future husband. Married women let their hair grow, and turn it back and knot it over the nape of the neck after the fashion that is usually in force in Eastern Bengal; but here again the husband's rights come in, and he must be the first person to turn back his wife's hair.

Economic condition people.

Though to outward seeming unusually prosperous, the Manipuris are not really very well-to-do. They live in good houses and are always clean and neatly dressed, but the great majority of them have very little cash. In few places is nature more bountiful than in Manipur, but owing to its isolation the inhabitants are unable to find a market for their produce. The problem that presses most urgently for solution is the introduction of capital into the valley. While heavy expenditure was being incurred on public works, the people had little difficulty in obtaining cash to pay their land revenue, but this source of income has now been considerably curtailed. Given a market, the Manipuris could easily grow rich; but with rice selling at 15 annas a maund, and stout home-made cotton cloth at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per square foot there must evidently only be a small margin of profit. At the same time there is not much indebtedness, the foreign traders being far from certain whether they would recover any advances they might make.

Communications.

There are three roads which connect the town of Imphal with the outside world; the cart road over the Naga Hills to the Assam-Bengal Railway at Dimapur which has a total length of 134 miles; the bridle path to Cachar *viâ* Bishenpur and Jirighat; and the bridle path *viâ* Thobal to Tammu, and thence across the Kubo valley into the valley of the Chindwin.

The cart road enters the Manipur State at Mao thana, which is 67 miles from Dimapur and nearly 5,600 feet above the level of the sea. From there it descends steadily along the contours of the hills, and the next bungalow at Maram, 18 miles from Mao, is only 4,596 feet above sea level. From Maram to Kairong bungalow there is a drop of 1,200 feet in a distance of 18 miles. The road at this point crosses the upper waters of the Barak, which, though but a shallow stream in the cold weather, comes down in heavy spate during the rains. Even when in flood the river is hardly more than four feet deep, but the current is so swift that it is impossible for a ferry to be worked, and carts are sometimes detained for four or five days till the violence of the stream abates. Foot passengers can cross by a light suspension bridge, and a fine bridge capable of carrying heavy traffic is now (1905) in course of construction. From Kairong the road gradually rises to the Maiangkang watershed some 500 feet above the valley, and then drops again to Kangpokpi, 18 miles from Kairong. The next stage is to Kanglatombi 18 miles, and from there it is 15 miles into the town of Imphal. All of the staging bungalows are built of stone, contain three rooms, and are not only furnished with beds, tables, and chairs, but are supplied

with glass and crockery. Only about 85 miles of the road between Imphal and Mao thana are metalled.

The hills through which the road has been carried are largely composed of soft grey shale, and the unmetalled portions become so bad after wet weather, that during the rains the road is sometimes closed to cart traffic. The whole of this road is still under the charge of the Assam Administration, but the State makes an annual contribution of Rs. 30,000 towards its maintenance.

The Cachar bridle path

The first 17 miles of the Cachar road from Imphal past the Foiching rest-house (9 miles) to the Bishenpur bungalow, lie along the valley and are drivable, but at Bishenpur the road turns sharply to the east and sinks to the status of a bridle path. The stage from Bishenpur to the next bungalow at Laimatak is only 18 miles in length; but the traveller has to ascend nearly 2,000 feet to the summit of the Laimatol range and then drops nearly 8,500 feet to the Laimatak river. The next halting place is at the Kaopum, 12 miles further on over the Loangba range, which entails a climb of 2,700 feet and a descent of 2,000 feet the other side. Then comes a comparatively easy march of nine miles to Irang. To the summit of the Kaopum range it is only a climb of 500 feet, but on the other side there is a drop of 2,800 feet in less than four miles. After leaving the Irang bungalow, the path crosses the Irang range (1,960 feet above the level of the sea), drops to the Lengba stream, and then climbs once more to the Nongba rest-house which is 2,710 feet above mean sea level and 12 miles from Irang. From Nongba there is a march of 18 miles, the greater part of which is on an easy downward slope to the bungalow in

the valley of the Barak. The next stage is only 11 miles in length, but the path mounts 2,600 feet to cross the Kala Naga range, and descends nearly 3,000 feet to the Makru bungalow on the other side. From Makru it is a march of 15 miles with a climb up and down of 1,600 feet to Jirighat, the frontier of Manipur, whence it is another 24 miles to Silchar town. The path thus crosses seven ranges of hills and five main rivers, and in the course of 85 miles the traveller from Manipur has to ascend altogether over 12,000 feet and descend rather more than 14,000 feet. Nearly all the rivers along this road are crossed by wire suspension bridges, with the exception of the Jiri, over which a ferry is maintained.

The Tammu bridle path.

South south-west of Imphal runs the road to Tammu on the Burmese frontier. There are staging bungalows at Thobal on the 14th, and Palel on the 19th mile, and for the first 31 miles the road is drivable. From there to the Burmese frontier there is nothing but a bridle path, and beyond Aimol on the 35th mile there are no rest-houses. From Tammu it is only 24 miles across the Kubo Valley and a range of hills to Sittang on the Chindwin river.

The only other driving roads in the Manipur valley outside Imphal are the continuation of the Bishenpur road to Moirang, and the road to the foot of the hills below Kangjupkul. None of these roads are metalled, with the exception of the road to Dimapur, and are thus liable to be much cut up if required to carry heavy traffic in the rains. The rivers are generally crossed by wooden bridges, and as the timber is of poor quality and soon rots if exposed to the action of the weather, it is found

cheaper to cover them with a roof of thatch, a custom which gives them a somewhat singular appearance.

There are only two post offices in Manipur which are situated at Imphal and Mao thana. Two lines of post are maintained by the State, to Kohima which is reached in about 40 hours, and to Tammu which is reached in about two days. Government also keeps up a line to Silchar which is reached in 50 hours. The mail is carried in each case by runners. Between Kohima and Imphal the runner carries what is known as an "open bag," so that letters can be received and posted by any person travelling along the road. A telegraph line crosses the Naga Hills, passes through Imphal, where there is an office, and enters Burma *viâ* Tammu. **Post and Telegraph**

The internal trade of the State is carried on at markets held in the open air, and outside Imphal such a thing as a permanent shop is practically unknown. Even in the town itself there are only 36 shops, 29 of which are kept by the shrewd merchants of Marwar. The principal articles offered for sale at these shops are cotton goods and thread, umbrellas, brass and bell-metal utensils, oil and fancy goods, with flour and other kinds of grain. Foreigners are not allowed to open shops in the interior, and the Manipuri, though he is fond enough of trade, is not a shopkeeper. Markets are, however, held all over the valley which are largely attended by the villagers. In Imphal itself there are no less than 18, but all are completely overshadowed by the great afternoon bazar. The day bazar is situated near the brick bridge over the Nambol, and is a very respectable market as markets go. The afternoon bazar is only a few hundred yards west of **Commerce and trade. Internal trade.**

the morning bazar, and is held on a fine level piece of ground in which there is ample elbow room. This is, no doubt, the reason for the change of site, for to the casual visitor it at first seems strange that the business centre of the town should be shifted a few hundred yards just at the close of day. At 3-30 P.M. the place is absolutely deserted. There are the fifty-five low plinths on which the women sit, but there is nothing to suggest that this is a place of business, and the casual visitor could easily imagine that he was looking at the site of rows of unfinished cooly lines. An hour-and-a-half later the place is white with people. There are from 2,000 to 3,000 women sitting behind their wares, and the throng of purchasers is even larger. The prices are extraordinarily cheap and the articles offered for sale most miscellaneous in their character. There is cotton in the raw, cotton thread, creepers that are used as dyes, and enormous quantities of cotton cloths of different colours and patterns. There are cotton-padded quilts and coats, hats, and shoes, and various other articles of dress. Excellent specimens of brass work are on sale, in addition to the sickles, daos, and hoes that the cultivator needs. Mattresses are there, bamboo mats and baskets, jewellery, and pottery. In addition to all these miscellaneous articles, there is a large store of grain of various kinds, fruit, vegetables, poultry, salt, and all the different kinds of food that are generally to be found in a market in Assam.

The Imphal afternoon bazar is held just in front of the old gate into the *pat*, and in former days there was a curious custom under which ten of the Raja's servants

used to take from the market women sufficient supplies to last them for one day. Needless to say these supplies were never paid for, and this irregular toll was felt to be a serious grievance. Efforts were made from time to time to induce the Raja to forego his claim, but it is doubtful whether the custom was ever really allowed to fall into disuetude, and the women are still afraid that it may be revived as soon as the State is placed again under native management. There are very few sheds in any of these bazars, and the market-place consists of rows of plinths on which the vendors sit. In rainy weather each woman brings her own umbrella and plants it in the ground in front of her. Men very seldom sell at these bazars and do not often attend even as purchasers.

The following is a list of the places outside Imphal where bazars are held:— Bazar outside Imphal.

Bishenpur.	Moirang.
Buri Bazar or Lambol.	Oinam.
Chalow.	Palel.
Chandrakhong.	Sekmai.
Hiyangthang.	Sengmai.
Lamlai.	Thobal.
Lamsaug.	Waikhong.
Leisangkhong.	Wanjing.
Lilang.	Yarapok.
Mayang Imphal.	

Tea seed and buffaloes are imported from Burma, but most of the trade of the State is with Cachar and the Assam Valley. The principal exports to Cachar are cattle, and timber and other forest produce from the State forests on the western frontier. Tea seed was at Foreign Trade.

one time an important article of export, and in 1896-97 was valued at about Rs. 1,75,000. Almost the whole of this seed came originally from Burma, so that the State suffered comparatively little loss when the depressed state of the tea industry put an end to the trade. Tea seed was, however, a source of considerable revenue to the Raja in the days of native rule, as he kept the monopoly of it in his hands.

The principal imports are cotton piece-goods and yarn, dried fish, and betelnuts. Rice is exported in considerable quantities along the cart road to Dimapur, and, were it not for the fact that all traffic is at present suspended in the rains, the trade would probably be considerably larger. At the same time it must be borne in mind that, cheap though rice is in Manipur, it has to bear a heavy charge on account of freight; and when prices are as cheap in Assam as they were at the beginning of 1905, there is very little profit in the business. The principal imports by this route are cotton yarn and piece-goods, kerosine oil, *ghi*, salt, and sugar. The following statement shows the average value of the principal exports during the past three years to and from Cachar and Assam. Statistics for Cachar are registered at Jirighat, and at Mao thana for Assam.

Statement shewing exports from Manipur to the Surma and Assam Valleys.

Names of articles.	Average value of exports during the three years ending 1903-04, *viâ*	
	Jirighat.	Mao thana.
	Rs.	Rs.
Cattle	27,022	2,610
Canes and rattans	3,914	...
Cotton twist and yarn (Indian)	...	3,560
„ piece-goods (Indian)	7,534	4,327
Rice husked	731	93,998
Ghi	20	1,567
Dry fish	...	1,765
Spices other than betel-nuts	1,554	...
Timber	85,577	...
Bamboos	13,041	...
All other articles	15,554	6,122
TOTAL ...	1,54,947	1,13,949

Statement showing imports to Manipur from the Surma and Assam Valleys.

Names of articles imported.	Average value of imports during the three years ending 1903-04, *viâ*	
	Jirighat.	Mao thana.
	Rs.	Rs.
Horses, ponies and mules	3,735	...
Cotton, twist and yarn (European) ...	3,837	...
" " " (Indian) ...	...	18,316
" piece goods (European) ...	5,073	1,582
" " " (Indian) ...	777	34,268
Wheat	...	2,384
Gram and pulse	28	3,542
Liquors	...	8,707
Brass and copper	3,092	...
Mineral oils	1,111	16,678
Ghi	...	9,918
Dry fish	19,636	211
Salt	1,418	19,358
Betel-nuts	57,532	2,850
Sugar refined	87	4,938
All other articles	7,575	13,995
TOTAL ...	1,03,901	1,38,737

Development of cart traffic.

Trade with Assam has been enormously facilitated by the opening of the cart road, and by a development of the cart traffic, for which it would be very hard to find a parallel in Assam. The first carts to enter Manipur were sent up in 1896. Rs. 50 was offered for each cart from Nigriting to Manipur, and the owners were certain of a large profit on the load of rice which they could bring back on the homeward journey. In spite of these

liberal terms, scarcely a man was willing to undertake the work. Six or seven years later there were over 1,700 carts registered as plying between Imphal and Dimapur. Sylhet has had excellent cart roads for many years, yet there is hardly a cart to be hired in the district; and it is difficult to recall a single industry in Assam which has been developed by the natives of the Province with such remarkable rapidity. The Manipuris are, however, a very imitative people, and, like the Khasis, are willing to give any novelty a trial. The art of making carts and cart wheels was speedily acquired, cattle in Manipur are cheap and good, and in a surprisingly short space of time a flourishing transport business was established. Freights are in consequence unusually low, and the charge for sending a maund of goods the 134 miles from Dimapur to Imphal is only eight or ten annas in the dry weather. From Imphal to Dimapur the rates are generally higher and are seldom less than Re. 1-8 per maund.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Land revenue—Lalup—Revenue administration since 1891—House tax—Fisheries—Other sources of revenue—Criminal and Civil Justice—Punishments—Police and jails—Education—Medical aspects.

Land Revenue.

THE following description of the way in which land revenue was realized in the days of native rule is taken from the work by Dr. Brown :—

"The whole land system of the valley starts with the assumption that all the land belongs to the Raja, and is his to give away or retain, as he pleases. Under the Raja is an official, named the Phoonan Saloomba, whose duty it is to superintend all matters connected with land cultivation. He looks after the measurement, receives the rent in kind, and transacts all business matters connected with land on behalf of the Raja. The land is subdivided into villages and their surroundings : the headman of each division or village looks after the cultivation. and is responsible for the realisation of the tax payable in kind by each cultivator; he holds no interest in the land, and is merely an agent of the Raja.

Besides the land thus directly, as it were, cultivated for the Raja, grants of land are given to officials and favourites, sometimes for their own lives only, or for a specified time, sometimes for themselves and descendants. These hold their lands on payment of the usual tax in kind. Connections of the Raja, Brahmans, and sepoys, pay no rent or tax on a fixed proportion of land regulated in each case, but on any increase on the land cultivated above that proportion rent is paid.

The proportion of land cultivated under what may be called the direct system on account of the Raja is about a third

of the whole; rather more than a third is in the possession of members of the ruling family, Brahmans and sepoys; the remainder is in the hands of the headmen, officials, etc., who hold it by favour from the Raja. Each individual liable for *lalup* or forced labour for the State, is entitled to cultivate for his support one *pari* of land, subject to the payment of the regular tax in kind.

The tax in kind realised from each cultivator, and which goes to the Raja, is liable to many modifications, although in theory the tax is a fixed one. The tax as given by McCulloch varies from two baskets to thirteen from each *pari*.* I am informed that the two baskets, which nominally should only be taken from everyone alike, is realised from favourites, and that the average from others may be set down at 12 baskets yearly: this is seldom exceeded, except in rare emergencies, as war, &c. This, again, will only apply to land cultivated for the Raja or held by those subject to *lalup*. In cases where lands are held by officials, etc., as middlemen, the burdens are more severe, running as high as twenty-four baskets per *pari*, which I am informed is the outside limit. The average yield per *pari* is about 150 baskets annually; each basket contains about 60 pounds."

The lalup or corvee.

In addition to this tax in kind each male between 17 and 60 was supposed to render to the State ten days' labour out of every forty. The people seem to have been divided into different guilds, to each of which was allotted the duty of providing some particular article of use or luxury required by the Raja and his numerous retinue. Some, for instance, would build the roads and bridges; to others would be assigned the various crafts, the manufacture of brass or bell-metal utensils, of jewellery, or of leather work. Others again would be deputed to the personal service of the Raja and his followers. A list of the different guilds, as recorded by Dr. Brown, has already been printed on page 55. A similar system was in force amongst the Ahoms, and, were it not for the difficulty of checking abuses in the working, it is a system

* A *pari* = 2½ acres.

which is not entirely unsuited to the conditions of life upon the North-East Frontier. Labour is the one thing in which the inhabitants are really rich; it is the one thing that can be taken from them and leave them no poorer than before. Nearly every man sits idle for a considerable portion of the year, and the native rulers did not hesitate to avail themselves of this great store of potential labour which now unfortunately goes to waste. It does not appear from the reports of either Brown or McCulloch that the people found the system of *lalup* particularly irksome or oppressive, though in the case of the Manipuris it was combined with a much heavier tax in kind than was levied from the subjects of the Ahom kings. Major-General Sir James Johnstone, a former Political Agent of Manipur and an officer who was full of sympathy with the natives of this country, described the *lalup* system in the following terms and much regretted that it was entirely abolished not only in Manipur but in Assam:—

"The system was a good one, and when not carried to excess, pressed heavily on nobody. It was especially adapted to a poor state sparsely populated. In such a state, under ordinary circumstances, where the amount of revenue is small, and the rate of wages often comparatively high, it is next door to impossible to carry out many much-needed public works by payment. On the other hand, every man in India who lives by cultivation, has much spare time on his hands, and the '*lalup*' system very profitably utilises this, and for the benefit of the community at large. I never heard of it being complained of as a hardship. The system in Assam led to the completion of many useful and magnificent public works. High embanked roads were made throughout the country, and large tanks, lakes, appropriately termed 'seas,' were excavated under this arrangement. Many of the great works of former ages in other parts of India are due to something of the same kind.

It was a sad mistake giving up the system in Assam without retaining the right of the state to a certain number of days' labour on the roads every year, as is the custom to this day, I believe, in Canada, Ceylon, and other countries."*

When the State came under British administration the system of *lalup* was abolished. Under the Raja the people were compelled to attend at Imphal, but very little supervision was exercised over the tale of work, and half of them, perhaps, sat idle. The more business-like arrangements of the British put a stop to all this loafing, and thus produced considerable discontent. This discontent took a practical and very objectionable form, and the people began to emigrate to Cachar, a thing which had not been allowed in the days of native rule. *Lalup* was accordingly abolished, and in lieu of it, a tax of Rs. 4 per *pari* was assessed on all settled land in the valley. In 1893-94, this rate was raised to Rs. 5 per *pari* or Rs. 2 per acre. Though low enough in itself, the assessment is probably quite as high as the peculiar economic conditions of the State permit. In 1904, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who had been Superintendent of the State since 1891, reported that rice was so cheap that it hardly repaid the cost of cultivation, with the result that some difficulty was occasionally experienced in obtaining the money required to pay the revenue. When the State first came under British administration, the land was managed directly from the Superintendent's office. This was, however, but a temporary expedient, and in 1894, the valley was divided into four

Revenue substituted for lalup after 1891.

* "My Experiences in Manipur," by Major-General Sir James Johnstone, page 114.

pannas or tahsils, each of which had a revenue demand of about half a lakh of rupees. The tahsildars, or *lakpas*, received a commission of 10 per cent. on their collections, but were required to defray the charges of their establishments, which amounted to between Rs. 1,300 and Rs. 1,700 per annum. A tax of Rs. 2 was levied on each homestead, the garden ground was not assessed to revenue, and a staff of eight amins, under an official known as an Amin *Lakpa* was engaged in measuring up the land.

he measurement of the valley. Experience showed that the *lakpas* required much closer supervision than so small a staff could give them. At the end of three years, the arrears, good and bad, amounted to no less a figure than Rs. 86,000, or about one-third of the total land revenue demand, and it was obvious that some reform was necessary. The size of the *pannas* was accordingly reduced by the erection of Imphal into a separate *panna*, the *lakpas* were relieved of all work connected with the settlement of new land and the registration of titles, and a Sub-Deputy Collector was appointed with a staff of four kanungos and forty amins to measure up the valley. The measurement was made on the non-cadastral system with a rod, and was completed by March 31st, 1899. After deducting the homestead land which was still assessed to house-tax, it was found that the assessed area had risen from 255,000 *bighas* to 320,000 *bighas*, an increase by re-measurement of no less than 65,000 *bighas*. The survey staff was then reduced to twenty amins under two kanungoes working under the general direction of the Sub-Deputy Collector. In the following year the house-tax was

abolished, and the homestead land was measured up and assessed to revenue at the ordinary rate; a measure which produced a small increase of 4 per cent. on the previous revenue demand.

The principal registers on which the land revenue assessment is based are the *dag-chittas* which record the name of the occupant of each field, and the *jamabandhis* which show the number of fields included in each patta. The *patta* or lease confers no title to the holding, but in practice, when land is taken up for purposes of State, it is customary to give the owner compensation. Land is also bought and sold and mortgaged as though the occupant had a valid legal title. For estates which pay more than Rs. 10 in revenue, the revenue is due in two instalments, one-half on January 15th, one-half on March 15th. The revenue on smaller estates is paid in one instalment on January 15th. Revenue is collected by *Lakpas*, who move about through the areas committed to their charge. It was at one time thought that these tours were the cause of some inconvenience to the people, as they were compelled to support the *Lakpa's* large and sometimes needy retinue; and in 1902-08, they were ordered to remain at their headquarters. Experience showed that the Manipuri would not come in to pay his revenue unsolicited, and the system of touring had to be revived. The Manipuris are allowed to resign their land, provided that they give notice to the land revenue authorities on or before December 31st. During the last three years, the average area of land resigned and of new land taken up was 2,049 and 8,248 acres respectively. Further details with regard

to land revenue will be found in Table VII. There is still a considerable area of uncultivated land in the valley. In many cases, however, some capital expenditure would be required either to drain it, or to bring more water on to it, before it would be fit for cultivation. The principal obstacles to the extension of cultivation are scarcity of labour and the low price of rice, which does not offer sufficient profit to stimulate the villagers to further exertions.

House Tax. Amongst the hill tribes a tax of Rs. 3 is levied on each house, and no attempt is made to measure up the area under cultivation. The hills are divided into five *lams*, each of which is in charge of a Manipuri official called a *Lam* subadar, assisted by some eight Manipuri *lambus* or peons. In the north, there is the Mao *Lam*, and the Tankul *Lam* includes the hills along the north-east of the valley. South of the Tankul country is the Tammu *Lam;* the Moirang *Lam* is in the south-west corner of the State, and the Kapui *Lam* to the north of it. The hill man, like other savages, is not as simple as he looks, and does not pay a tax if he can help it. In 1899, a Manipuri enumerator who was checking the houses in a Tankul village, found that no less than 30 belonged to widows, who, according to the rules in force, are exempted from assessment. This number seemed so disproportionately large that he determined to pursue his investigations further. At the dead of night he returned with the village elders and found seventeen of these so-called widows quietly sleeping with their husbands, who were forthwith assessed to revenue.

After the land and house-tax the principal sources

of revenue to the State are forests, fisheries, foreigner's tax, salt, and the amount which is annually paid by Government in compensation for the cession of the Kubo Valley to Burma. Details for each of these heads will be found in Table VII, and the abstract in the margin shows the receipts in 1908-04. The system under which the land revenue, house tax, salt tax, and forest revenue is raised has already been described.

Miscellaneous revenue. Thousands omitted.	
Land revenue ...	[illegible]
House Tax ...	[illegible]
Forests	[illegible]
Fisheries	[illegible]
Kubo Valley ...	[illegible]
Salt... ...	[illegible]
Foreigners	[illegible]
Other heads ...	[illegible]
Total...	[illegible]

Fisheries.

Fish is an important article of diet in Manipur, and there are no less than 87 fisheries which are regularly put up to auction, in addition to minor streams, *bils*, and the Loktak lake in which anyone is allowed to fish free of charge. The following are the most valuable fisheries: The Waithou Shorien and the Waithou Phoomnow are two *bils* about eleven miles from Imphal, on the road to Thobal, which in 1908-04 fetched Rs. 6,450 and Rs. 1,475 respectively. The Ekope *bil*, south of Thobal sold, in that year, for Rs. 8,170; the Kajipat *bil*, a little to the south of the town, for Rs. 1,410; and the Poomlen *bil*, near the Loktak, for Rs. 1,000. The only other fishery which in that year fetched more than Rs. 1,000 was the Yangoi river, near the Loktak, which was knocked down for Rs. 1,850. The auction purchasers generally admit all the persons likely to frequent the fishery into partnership, and share with them the profit or the loss, if by any chance loss accrues; but in the case of rivers a cess is occasionally levied on each net employed. The *bils* are filled with water in the rains when the rivers are in flood, and generally dry up in the cold season. Most of the fish are caught by the simple expedient of setting wicker-work traps at the

places where the water drains back into the rivers. All the water that enters the extensive Waithou *bil* drains back through a narrow gorge between two hills not more than ten or fifteen yards in width. During the fishing season as many as two hundred women will be seen sitting here every morning, waiting to buy the catch of the previous night. A succession of high floods followed by a rapid fall of the water is the condition of affairs most favourable to the fishing industry. The net that is most generally in use is a square-shaped piece of netting with a pocket in the centre; the opposite corners of which are fixed to the four ends of two flexible bamboos crossed above it in the shape of an X. A stout bamboo is attached to it as a handle, and the net, in fact, differs in no way from the *parangi* of Assam. The ordinary cast net of Assam or *kewali* is also used by the men. Strange to say, the Manipuris in spite of their religious bigotry have not the smallest scruple with regard to the sale of fish. Even Brahman women will act as fishwives, though amongst most Hindus the sale of fish is restricted to the very lowest castes. Anything that cannot be sold or eaten fresh is dried in the sun, or, in the case of large fish taken in the hill streams, over a big fire. The best eating fish are *sareng*, *ngara*, *kharoubi*, *pemba*, *nga khra*, and *ngatel*; but none of them appeal strongly to the European palate.

ther urces of venue.

The foreigner's tax is a tax of Rs. 5 on every adult foreigner settled in the State. Income Tax is only assessed on the salaries paid to Government servants, and does not go to swell the resources of Manipur. Court fees are not charged in cases in which Manipuris are

concerned. There are, at present, no receipts from excise, as the Manipuri does not take either liquor or intoxicating drugs, and no attempt is made to tax the liquor of the hill man. The poppy used formerly to be cultivated by the Muhammadans. It was found that opium was being smuggled into British territory, and orders have recently (1905) been issued to prohibit poppy cultivation. Rice beer is brewed by mixing a yeast made of powdered rice and the roots of a creeper with boiled rice, and leaving it to ferment. Spirit is also distilled from this liquor by primitive native methods.

During the minority of the Raja, the administration of Manipur has been vested in the Superintendent of the State. Separate offices are maintained in separate buildings for the Superintendent of the State and Political Agent, though the two functions are united in the single individual. This is necessary, as when the Raja is entrusted with the administration of the country, the State office will be made over to him. Government

The Political Agent is assisted by a member of the Assam Commission. The land revenue administration is supervised by a Sub-Deputy Collector lent by the Assam Government, and public works are in charge of a State engineer.

For the purposes of the administration of justice the valley is divided into eleven circles, in each of which there is a panchayat court. These courts have power to try civil suits in which the subject-matter in dispute does not exceed Rs. 50; and criminal offences of a minor degree, *i.e.*, simple hurt, assault, trespass, adultery, which, as has already been explained, is not considered a Criminal and Civil Justice.

serious offence by the Manipuris; and theft and mischief where the property stolen or injured is not valued at more than Rs. 50. The only penalty which the panchayat courts can inflict is fine, and that must not exceed Rs. 50 in rural areas. The town panchayat at Imphal can impose fines up to Rs. 100 and can decide civil and criminal cases of an equal value. Rural panchayats have been opened at Sengmai, Maklong, Foiching, Kameng, Moirang, Wangoi, Kokching, Chairel, Ningel, and Bamonkombu; but they are said to be of little use, and they only decide a few disputes of a petty character. A special panchayat court also sits at Lilang for the trial of cases between Muhammadan Manipuris. Members of the rural panchayats are remunerated by the allowance of one *pari** of rice land free of revenue while in office, but members of the town panchayat receive no less than twenty-five *paris*. Above the panchayats comes the Chirap, a court composed of five magistrates which sits in Imphal. They can try civil suits up to any value, and all criminal cases except murder and offences against the State, but they cannot award more than two years' rigorous imprisonment, a fine of Rs. 500, or a flogging. Appeals from the town panchayat lie to the Chirap, each member of which is remunerated while in office by the grant of fifty *paris* of land free of revenue.

All cases to which a European British subject is a party are tried by the Political Agent or his Assistant; and the same officer, in his capacity of Superintendent

* A *pari* = 2½ acres.

of the State, decides all disputes in which a hillman is concerned. Appeals from the orders of the Assistant or of the Chirap Court lie to the Political Agent. This officer can pass sentence of death or of transportation for life; but the confirmation of the Chief Commissioner is required whenever the death penalty is imposed or imprisonment for more than seven years. Manipuri custom is to a great extent followed in the courts, and the penalties prescribed differ to some extent from those laid down in the Penal Code. Adultery, for instance, is only punishable with fine, and petty theft with fine or flogging.*

The present courts are said to be too cumbersome for the prompt despatch of business, and the question of replacing them by Manipuri magistrates and munsifs has been already mooted. Most of the criminal cases consist of petty thefts of property and cattle, and house-breaking. Table VI shows the quantity of criminal and civil work disposed of.

Punishments. Under native rule the punishments inflicted were not unfrequently excessively severe. The murderer used originally to be executed in the way in which he killed his victim; but Colonel Johnstone, when he was Political Agent, succeeded in inducing the Raja to order all persons sentenced to death to be beheaded. The victim was thrown on his back upon the ground, the back of his neck was placed on the trunk of a plantain tree,

* For further details with regard to the rules for the administration of justice in the Manipur State, see Manual of Executive Rules and Orders, pp. 75-81.

and the head hacked off. Flogging took place in the afternoon bazar, and sometimes as many as 500 lashes were administered; a whipping which occasionally proved fatal to the unfortunate recipient. Women were never imprisoned, and, at the present day, sentences of imprisonment are very seldom passed on women, so strong is the prejudice of the Manipuris on the subject. The form of punishment inflicted was, however, much more opposed to the ideas of decency prevailing in the West. The guilty woman was stripped naked save for a tiny apron of cloth. Her breasts were painted red, and a sweeper's brush fastened between her thighs. A rope was then put round her waist, and she was led in this disgraceful plight through the crowded afternoon bazar. Over her naked buttocks was suspended a small drum, and a second man followed behind beating the drum and proclaiming her offence. Women who had passed through this ordeal generally allowed an interval of several months to elapse before they again appeared in the bazar, and it thus had the affect of confining them for a time to their own houses.

olice and ails. There is a regular system of rural police in the valley; a chaukidar, who is elected by the people subject to the approval of the Political Agent, being appointed to every hundred houses. There is, however, only one civil police station in the State, which is situated at Imphal, and the whole civil police force consists of 19 men under a Sub-Inspector. A battalion of military police is kept up by the State, which has a sanctioned strength of 18 commissioned officers and 864 non-commissioned officers and men. The men wear a neat

uniform of dark green cloth, and are armed with muzzle-loading tower muskets of 1856 and bayonets. The military police hold eight outposts on the three main roads, distributed as follows:—

Cachar Road.		Kohima Road.		Tammu Road.	
Outpost.	Men.	Outpost.	Men.	Outpost.	Men.
Kaopum ...	10	Sengmai ...	4	Sibong ...	9
Barak ...	4	Kairong ..	10	Moreh ...	3
Makru ...	4	Mao ...	8		

The chaukidars are useful as a reporting agency, and sometimes bring to light ingenious frauds which have been perpetrated by Manipuri swindlers. On one occasion, an escaped convict collected Rs. 600 amongst the Nagas to pay for the Political Agent's passage home. The trick was exposed by a Naga, who met the Political Agent and expressed some surprise that he should still be there, as several months before he had paid Rs. 5 towards the cost of his steamer ticket. On another occasion, a bill from a Calcutta tradesman, headed with the various coats of arms that sometimes adorn these documents, was used as a Government parwana, authorising the levy of a cess of Rs. 2 per house to be paid to the bearer of this imposing piece of paper. Another case occurred in 1904, when some convicts, marching with a warder through the valley, collected Rs. 400, on the pretence that it was to be used for the reconstruction of the house of the Assistant Political Officer, which had been burned to the ground a short time before.

The Jail is surrounded by a fine brick wall and has accommodation for 100 prisoners. The walls of the

wards are made of whole bamboos. The prisoners are usually employed on extramural labour.

Education. Education, it need hardly be said, received little encouragement in the days of native rule. In 1869, Brown reported that there were no schools or any wish for them on the part of the authorities. Offers of assistance in the formation of a school were declined by the Manipuris, who stated that they preferred to remain ignorant. Some of the highest officials did not know how to read or write, and, like the knights of the middle ages, despised such arts as beneath their serious consideration. In 1872, a vernacular school was opened at Imphal, but the attendance was extremely small, and very little was done by the Raja or his officers to stimulate the cause of education. The Johnstone Middle English School was, however, opened in 1885, and, though it was closed for a time during the disturbances of 1891, it was reopened on June 1st, 1892. In the following year two pathsalas were opened; and in 1903-1904, there were in the State one Middle English, and one Upper Primary school and 28 pathsalas. Text-books have been prepared in Manipuri, and instruction is now given in that language. The year marked a great advance in the spread of education, and the Manipuris are evidently becoming sensible of its advantages. The number of pathsalas was increased from sixteen to twenty-eight, and the daily average attendance rose from 897 to 1,257. Female education has as yet made little progress. A girls' school was opened, but was closed again in 1902 from motives of economy. There are no difficulties in the shape of caste scruples or the

restrictions of the purdah to be overcome, but the shrewd Manipuri woman would have to be convinced of the practical value of education before she would send her child to school. In 1901, only 9 per mille of the population knew how to read and write, and the number of literate women was less than one per mille. It must not be supposed from this that the Manipuris are rude uncultured boors. Cut off as they are by their mountain walls from their fellow-men, it is not to be expected that they would take much interest in the affairs of the outer world, and a literary education has few charms for them. But they are well dressed, well housed, and clever craftsmen. Men and women alike are full of enterprise and intelligence, and few people manage better without schooling than the Manipuri.

Medical Aspects. Manipur healthy, but liable to epidemics of cholera.

Manipur is by no means an unhealthy place. In spite of the presence of myriads of mosquitoes, malarial fever is not so prevalent as it is in the neighbouring Province of Assam. The Manipuri is a larger and stronger man than the Assamese; he is generally well developed, and without being lean he seldom runs to fat. He does not age so rapidly as the plainsman of Assam, and once that the perils of infancy have been passed, the mean duration of life is probably considerable. But, if he is fairly free from fever and the general debility with which it is so frequently accompanied, he often pays a heavy toll to cholera. Drinking-water is usually taken from the small pond in the cottage garden into which all the drainage of the compound is deliberately carried. As though this were not enough, the people wash their clothes, their cooking utensils, and their persons in these

filthy pools, and then draw their drinking-water from them. If the rain holds off too long in the spring, these ponds dry up, and the people have recourse to the rivers, which have by this time sunk to little more than ditches creeping between high banks covered with every kind of filth. The first flood brings down this accumulation of impurities, and if they contain the germs of cholera, they are disseminated with surprising rapidity throughout the valley. The infection is still further spread by the custom which dictates that the dead should be burned on the river's bank, and that the corpse of a Brahman, even if he has died of cholera, should be bathed in the river itself. Cholera is first mentioned in the Manipur State chronicles in 1880, when it is said to have been the cause of heavy mortality. In 1850, there was another serious epidemic, and the Maharaja, Nur Singh, was numbered amongst the victims. Outbreaks of cholera are also reported in 1856, 1858, 1872, 1886, 1891, and 1896. In 1898, the disease appeared in the valley in the most virulent form during the months of May and June, and raged in the hills in July and August. The season was a very dry one, there was little drinking-water to be obtained except from the muddy streams flowing along the river beds, and this source of supply was soon contaminated. Many casualties went no doubt unrecorded, but the reported deaths from cholera in the valley were no less than 6,053, or 82 per mille of the population as recorded in 1901; a terrible death-rate assuredly to be caused by one disease, and that too in the short space of two months.

Small-pox. Small-pox used at one time to be very common, but

the people are fully alive to the advantages of vaccination; and in the five years ending with 1902-03, 60 per mille of the population were successfully vaccinated each year, a proportion which was nearly 50 per cent. higher than that recorded for the Province as a whole. In 1891, when small-pox was raging with great virulence in the valley, the British garrison enjoyed almost complete immunity, and the people were not slow to act upon this admirable object-lesson. At the present day the Nagas soon complain if the vaccinator does not visit their villages with a certain regularity. The Kukis, however, regard the subject from a different point of view. Like Malthus they are afraid that the food supply may not suffice for the ever-increasing number of consumers. It is hard enough, they say, to live as it is, so why keep people alive whom God would kill. In the chapter on the history of the State, it has been shown that the Kukis are always willing enough to assist the Deity in his efforts to keep down the population.

Other diseases.

Influenza occasionally causes serious mortality, especially in the hills, and the people suffer a good deal from dysentery. Conjunctivitis and itch are very common, and venereal disease is said to be fairly prevalent, though the troops in garrison have been fairly free of recent years. Measles sometimes causes serious infant mortality. No accurate information is, however, available with regard to the medical aspects of the State. Vital statistics are not recorded, and there are very few data from which conclusions can be drawn. This, at any rate, seems fairly clear, that man, like most other living things, enjoys better health and attains a higher degree

of physical development than he does in the valleys of the Surma or the Brahmaputra. There is only one hospital in the State. It contains beds for 12 male and 2 female patients, and in 1903, had a daily average of nearly 9 inmates. The Manipuris themselves do not, however, seem to place much faith in European medicine, as the daily average of out-door patients was only 29—a figure which is very small for such a large and populous community as Imphal. To surgery they object on the ground that it is painful, but will consent to be operated on for stone when the disease has actually become worse than the prospective remedy.

LIST OF TABLES.

Table I.

Rainfall.

Average rainfall in inches (for 12 years).

	Inches.		Inches.		Inches.
January ...	0·70	May .	6·94	September ...	6·23
February ...	2·18	June ...	11·53	October ...	5·25
March ...	4·90	July ...	12·75	November ...	1·62
April ...	5·38	August ..	11·32	December ...	0·71
				Total ...	69·51

Table II.

General Statistics of Population.

				Persons.	Males.	Females.
Population—						
1901	..	..	..	284,465	139,632	144,833
1881	..	...	..	221,070	109,557	111,513
Variation—						
1881-1901	...	...	..	63,395	30,075	33,320
	1901.					
Religion—						
Hindus	...	..	..	170,577	84,486	86,091
Muhammadans	..	...	.	10,383	5,178	5,205
Animists	...	...	...	103,307	49,855	53,452
Christians	...	..	..	45	34	11
Others	..	.	...	153	79	74
Civil condition—						
Unmarried	...	..	.	140,399	76,099	64,300
Married	...	..	..	116,925	57,931	58,994
Widowed	..	...	...	27,141	5,602	21,539
Literacy—						
Literate in Bengali		.	..	1,487	1,441	46
Literate in English		...	..	181	172	9
Illitertae	...	..	...	281,807	137,036	144,771
Languages spoken—						
Naga ...	...	...	...	59,454	29,005	30,449
Kuki ...	...	...	..	40,201	19,084	21,117
Manipuri	...	...	..	181,347	88,671	92,676

Table III.

Birthplace, Race, Castes and Occupation.

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Birthplace—			
Born in the State	281,222	136,824	144,398
" " Assam	645	486	159
" " Bengal	602	543	59
" " the United Provinces ...	1,161	1,115	46
" " Nepal	525	383	142
" Elsewhere	310	281	29
Race and Caste—			
Brahman	7,295	4,012	3,283
Eurasian	9	9	......
European	28	21	7
Kshattriya	160,631	78,664	81,967
Kuki	41,262	19,791	21,471
Loi	3,618	1,749	1,869
Naga	36,576	17,926	18,650
" (Anal)	186	87	99
" (Chiru)	87	42	45
" (Kapui)	1,106	499	607
" (Koirao)	609	327	282
" (Tankul)	19,991	9,489	10,502
Occupation—			
Workers	150,767	77,477	73,290
Dependents	133,698	......	......
Total Supported—			
Cultivating landholders	94,001	57,859	36,142
Cultivating tenants	20,820	14,287	6,533
Jhum cultivators	86,086	44,620	41,466
Cotton weavers (hand industry) ...	20,916	1,464	19,452
Cotton spinners, sizers and yarn-beaters	18,790	766	18,024

Table IV.

Population by Pannas and Lams.

Pannas and Lams.	Population in 1901.
Imphal Panna or Town	67,093
Naharup Panna	22,451
Ahalup "	37,651
Laifam "	38,583
Khabam "	28,966
Khabam and Laifam "	595
Cachar Road "	786
Sekta Lam	19,576
Moirang "	16,823
Cachar Road "	7,636
Nongchap "	19,724
Awang "	15,148
Nangpak "	14,493
Total	248,465

TABLE V.

Prices of food staples in seers obtainable per rupee.

Year	Month	Common rice.	Salt.	Matikalai
1895	February	33	2¼	10
	August	25	3	7
1900	February	39	4	12
	August	40½	4	9¼
1901	February	28	4	17
	August	17½	4	12
1902	February	27	4½	11
	August	24	5½	11
1903	February	34½	7	13
	August	32¼	7	10
1904	February	27	8	9
	August	30	5½	...
1905	February	33	8	13
	August			
1906	February			
	August			
1907	February			
	August			
1908	February			
	August			
1909	February			
	August			
1910	February			
	August			
1911	February			
	August			
1912	February			
	August			

TABLE VI.

Statistics of Criminal and Civil Justice.

	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
CRIMINAL JUSTICE.											
IN THE COURT OF THE POLITICAL AGENT—											
Number of cases tried	18	19	26								
„ „ persons convicted ...	17	17	17								
„ „ „ acquitted ...	6	3	6								
IN THE COURT OF THE SUPDT. AND ASSISTANT TO THE SUPDT. OF STATE—											
Number of original cases tried ..	69	115	111								
„ „ persons convicted ...	84	195	170								
„ „ „ acquitted ..	31	51	42								
„ „ cases decided on appeal ...	8	9	14								
IN THE CHIRAP COURT—											
Number of original cases tried ..	35	70	90								
„ „ cases decided on appeal ...	1	5	21								
„ „ cases decided in the court of the town Panchayat	29	40	52								
CIVIL JUSTICE.											
Number of civil suits instituted in the Court of the Political Agent	78	138	220								
IN THE COURT OF THE SUPDT. AND ASST. TO THE SUPDT. OF STATE—											
Number of original miscellaneous cases instituted	250	456	526								
Number of appeals decided ...	86	135	110								
IN THE CHIRAP COURT—											
Number of original cases decided ...	147	293	495								
„ „ cases decided on appeal ...	58	71	161								
„ „ cases decided in the court of the town Panchayat	886	678	1012								

TABLE VII.

Finance.—Receipts.

	1892-93	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Land Revenue	1,24,582	2,49,944	2,53,967	2,20,997	2,76,573								
Foreigners' tax		4,429	4,228	4,281	5,730								
Hill House-tax	30,721	52,609	63,566	51,294	45,742								
Fisheries	14,522	27,892	29,072	28,080	23,794								
Salt Revenue	13,265	6,976	8,539	6,527	5,829								
Forests	4,037	32,427	25,497	20,093	26,051								
Kubo Valley compensation	..	6,270	6,270	6,270	6,270								
Other sources	27,969	7,270	4,922	7,660	5,405								
TOTAL	2,14,896	3,87,826	3,96,061	3,45,202	3,95,394								

TABLE VIII.

Outposts maintained by the State Police.

Place.	Force.		Place.	Force.	
1. Kaopum ...	10	Cachar Manipur Road.	6. Khangoi ...	12	Tankul Hill.
2. Barak .	4		7. Powi ..	11	
3. Makru ...	4		8. Sengmai ..	4	Kohima Manipur Road.
4. Shebong ...	10	Tammu Road.	9. Kairong ..	10	
5. Moreh ...	3		10. Mao ...	8	

TABLE IX.

Statistics of Manipur Jail.

	1893-94.	1900-01.
Daily average population	84	72
Rate of Jail mortality per 1,000	Nil	28
	Rs.	Rs.
Expenditure on Jail maintenance	6,274	4,626
Cost, per prisoner, on food and clothing, excluding civil prisoners		26

TABLE X.

Medical.

		1892.	1901.
Number of dispensaries ...	...	1	1
Daily average number of in-door patients	...	1	8
,, ,, ,, ,, out-door ,,	...	23	28
Cases treated	...	2,621	8,371
Operations performed	...	...	236
Total income	Rs.	6,497	3,504
Income from Government ...	Rs.	390	795
Income from State Funds ...	Rs.	6,029	2,679
Subscriptions	...	...	...
Total expenditure	Rs.	6,497 (a)	3,504
Expenditure on establishment ..	Rs.	524	1,353
Ratio per mille of persons vaccinated	...	83 40	54·60
Cost per case	Re.	0-0-7½	0-1-5

(a) Includes Rs. 5,231 as expenditure on building and repairs.

Table XI.

Dispensaries.

Name of Dispensary.	1900		1901		1902		1903		1904		1905		1906	
	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.
	Rs.		Rs		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
Imphal ..	2,550	6,571	3,504	8,371	3,992	8,558	5,767	9,171						

Name of Dispensary.	1907		1908		1909		1910		1911		1912	
	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.	Total cost.	Cases treated.
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
Imphal												

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